

THE

1568/1631.

L I F F E

OF

Mr. Bayle.

LETTER

TO A

Peer of Great Britain.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year M. DCC. VIII.



The Publisher to the Reader.

THE following Account of Mr. Bayle's Life being sent from beyond Sea to a British Peer, was communicated to me by a Gentleman who had the opportunity of taking a Copy of it; and there being an Appendix to the second Volume of the Miscellaneous Reflections in the French, relating to a Treatise written against Mr. Bayle, which is only a private Dispute, and no ways concerns us here, I thought I cou'd not oblige the Publick more than by giving this Life in the room of it. 'Tis probable, had the Author a Design of publishing it, he might have left out or softned some things.

*X C'est ici un petit mensonge; puisque c'est M.
Des M...., qui a composé cette Vie en Fran-
cois pour la publier, & qui l'a faite traduire
par un de ses amis dans ce dessein. Pourquoi
dire donc, que L'Auteur auroit supprimé ou
adouci certaines choses, s'il eut eu dessein de
la publier? Pourquoi dire, encore à la
tête de cet avertissement que cet écrit a été
envoyé & nous est venu de delà la mer;
puisque il a été composé à Londres par le
même M. Des M...., & communiqué*



as yours. That kind Opinion which you had honor'd Mr. Bayle, was founded on Motives too good to be ever

shaken. You admir'd the Beauty of his Wit, and the Justice of his Judge-

ment, but you were still more charm'd with his Modesty, his Disinterestedness, and I trust, his Heart. I was a

part of him that he had the Happiness of pleasing you, and (if I may pre-

sume to say so) of engaging your Friend. You had overheard him at

it to himself on several occasions, and you continue to expand it farther,

by the Commands you have laid upon me of sending you an

Eulogy. I thank my Lord, excuse my

THE manner in which you express your Concern for the Death of Mr. Bayle, carries his Eulogy beyond any thing the greatest Panegyrist can say in his Favor; and to me it's no small Consolation to find your Lordship inclin'd to espouse his Memory, at a time when most of his Friends seem to have abandon'd it to the spitefullest flings of Envy and Ill-nature. It's true, my Lord, this is no more than might justly be expected from a Soul so great, so generous

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

as yours. That kind Opinion with which you had honor'd Mr. Bayle, was founded on Motives too solid to be ever shaken. You admir'd the Beauty of his Wit, and the Justness of his Judgment; but you were still more charm'd with his Modesty, his Disinterestedness, and Integrity of Heart. 'Twas by this part of him that he had the Happiness of pleasing you, and (if I may presume to say so much) of engaging your Friendship. You had given Proofs of it to himself on several occasions; and you continue to express it farther, by the Commands you have laid upon me of sending you an Account of his Life. I shan't, my Lord, excuse myself in any Difficultys which appear in the discharge of such a Task; I shall thank you rather, in the most humble manner, for your Goodness in prescribing it to me. 'Twas Mr. Bayle procur'd me the Honor of being known to your Lordship, and to him I'm oblig'd for all the Favors you have done me. I have long sought for an occasion of testifying my Acknowledgments to your Lordship, and I cou'd never hope for one more favorable than this. I shan't therefore hesitate a moment in communicating

The Life of Mr. Bayle

nicating to your Lordship what Mr. Bayle had inform'd me of his own Life, during a course of several years Acquaintance, and what he has left concerning himself in some Passages of his Books. 'Tis true, it all amounts to no great matter: The Lives of Philosophers seldom abound with considerable Events; their Writings and their Disputes are the only Battels and sounding Actions in the History of these Heroes. I shall therefore chiefly aim at entertaining your Lordship with some account of the Works which Mr. Bayle has publish'd, and of the Disputes he had bin engag'd in, yet without setting up either for a Judg or Apologist. If I sometimes chance to take his part, it shall only be with relation to Facts, and where the force of Truth won't suffer me to be silent.

MR. Peter Bayle was born in 1648. 1648. in a small Town of the County of *Fore*, call'd *Carlat*, of which his Father was Minister. His Mother was of the House of *Ducasse*, an ancient Gentleman's Family, and which makes a very good Figure in that Country. The Ministers

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

were much esteem'd in *France*, as well on account of the regularity of their Manners, as because they were intitled to the same Privileges with the Gentry in Civil Matters: Hence it was that Persons of Quality thought it no Dishonor to breed up their Children to the Ministry. One may even affirm in general, that there was scarce a Minister in *France* who was not of a good Family: And this, my Lord, proceeded from the Protestants having no Colleges in which their Youth might be bred up *gratis*; so that they were oblig'd to send their Children to Academys generally at a great distance, which requir'd a considerable Expence. Upon this account we are not to wonder that the Ministers sometimes marry'd into the best Familys of their Province.

Mr. Bayle the Father gain'd the Esteem of every one by his Vertue and exemplary Piety: He was a Man free from Ambition, free from Pride, and of a truly primitive Simplicity. He had three Sons whom he carefully bred up for the Ministry: The Eldest came to be his Father's Collegue in the Church of *Carlat*, and the Youngest died at *Paris*, being only a *Proposant* or Candidate for

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

for the Ministry. Mr. Bayle, who was the second, began his Studys under his Father, who instructed him in the first Rudiments of Literature, and brought him to read some *Greek* and *Latin* Authors: But the Dutys of his Function not allowing him to imploy much time in his Instruction, he was considerably retarded in his Studys, and made not so great a Proficiency as might be expected from him.

When he had arriv'd to the Age of Eighteen, and his Father saw he had made Progress enough in human Learning to attain a thorow perfection by himself, he enter'd him in the Academy of *Puy-laurens*: He intended he shou'd finish his Studys in this place, and afterwards embrace that kind of Life to which he had from the beginning design'd him. Mr. Bayle soon perceiv'd the difference, for a Man of Letters, between a Home-Education and a College: He was overjoy'd to find himself in the Company of several learned Men, who had a great deal of Merit: he propos'd 'em a thousand Questions; and they were so charm'd at his Assiduity in all the Exercises of Religion, and so struck with the Vivacity of his Genius, that

they soon distinguish'd him amidst the other young Scholars of his standing. It's true, his way of Life was much less dissipated than theirs; he often walk'd abroad with those whose Humors nearest suited his own; but instead of making one in their Partys of Pleasure, he constantly shut himself up in his Study, and with incredible Ardor read over the best antient and modern Books which fell into his hands. *Plutarch* and *Montaigne* were his Favorite Authors; and concerning the latter, he us'd to tell his Friends in Mirth, that if all the Copies of his *Essays* were lost to the World, he cou'd retrieve 'em to a Tittle, so often had he read 'em over. His Memory was extraordinary happy, and presented him at the instant with any thing he had ever committed to it.

But *Puy-laurens* was too narrow a Scene for so vast a Genius. How agreeable soever this Town appear'd to him at his first coming, he began in a short time to distrelsh it. He had already drain'd the Learned there of their best Notions, and did not find Librarys well enough furnish'd to stay his insatiable Appetite for reading. He resolv'd to quit the Place, and remove to some greater

ten Town? but he was not a little divided in making a Choice. He wou'd very willingly have gone to one of the famous foreign Univerſitys; but the fear of putting his Father to a burdenſome Expence, made him ſoon give over this Deſign. At laſt he conſider'd that *Thoulouſe* was one of the fineſt Towns of *France*, that few Places in *Europe* abounded more with learned Men or choicer Libraries, that it was at no great diſtance from the place of his Birth; and what finally determin'd him, was its having a College where a certain number of the Youth of his County were bred and maintain'd on the Foundation, and which for this reaſon was call'd the *College of Foix*.

Thither he remov'd after having paſt about two years and a half at *Puy-laurant*, and made four or five months Progreſs in Philoſophy; and now purſu'd his Studiſ with incredible Application: But what was extremely afflicting herein to his Family, was, after ſome time, his changing his Religion. While he ſtudy'd Philoſophy in the College of *Puy-laurant*, he was not ſo taken up with the ordinary Exerciſes, as not to find time enough to look into Treatiſes of Contro-

1668.

Controversy, nor with the Spirit that People commonly do, to confirm themselves in preconceiv'd Opinions, but to examine, according to the great Principle of Protestants, whether the Doctrine he had suck'd in with the Breast were True or no, which requires a thorow knowledg of both sides of the Cause: For this reason he had the Curiosity of seeing the Arguments of Roman Catholicks in their own Writings. He met with Objections so plausible against the Doctrine which admits no living Judg upon Earth, to whose Decisions the Faithful are oblig'd to submit in all Disputes about religious Matters; that not able to answer 'em satisfactorily to his own Reason, and less still to defend his Principles against some subtle Controvertists with whom he had to deal at *Thoulonse*, he began to think himself a Schismatick, and out of the way of Salvation, and oblig'd to reunite to the main Stock, whereof he look'd on the Protestant Communions as so many lop'd Branches. Accordingly reconcil'd, he continu'd his Studys in the College of the Jesuits, as almost all do, of what Quality or Condition soever, in all Countrys where the Roman Religion prevails:

But

But the excessive Worship he saw paid to Creatures, appearing to him suspect, and Philosophy informing him more fully of the impossibility of Transubstantiation, he concluded there must be some Fallacy in the Objections to which he had submitted; and taking a stricter Review of the two Religions, he recover'd that Light which he had before bin blind to, and stedfastly follow'd it, without the least regard to a thousand temporal Advantages of which he depriv'd himself, and a thousand vexatious Affairs which appear'd to him inevitable by cleaving to it.

The Doctors of the College of *Foix*, who soon discover'd Mr. Bayle's fine Talents, were overjoy'd at their Purchase in him; and the Bishop of *Rieux*, in whose Diocess the Town of *Carlat* lay, express'd a particular Satisfaction at his Change. The Library was always open to him, and no means were neglected to make sure of him; when he form'd a Resolution of quitting the Place with the very first Opportunity, his stay being grown insupportable, since some late additional Reasons had further convinc'd him of the false step he had made. But he was not a little perplex'd how to

to make an honorable Retreat; he was destitute of the necessary Supplies for undertaking a long Voyage, and knew no body to whom he cou'd trust his Design. By good Fortune for him, Mr. *Ducasse de Pradals*, a Gentleman who was his Relation, happed about this time to come to *Thoulouse*, and make him a Visit. Mr. Bayle bless'd Heaven which sent him so trusty a Person in such a Juncture; he open'd his Heart to him, and this generous Friend preventing him with Offers of every thing for his Occasions, he retir'd to *Geneva*, after having continu'd about a Year and a half at *Thoulouse*.

1670. You'l easily judg, that such a Step as this cou'd not but be very agreeable to his Family. The Grief occasion'd in it by his change of Religion, was recompens'd by an inexpressible Joy and Consolation. The College of *Puy-laurens*, which was sensibly concern'd at his Lapse, had no less a share of Satisfaction. No sooner was Mr. Bayle arriv'd at *Geneva*, but he edify'd the whole Academy there by the manner in which he mourn'd his Fall, and the Zeal he express'd for the Reform'd Religion. Mr. *de Normandie*, Syndic of *Geneva*,

Geneva, took Mr. Bayle into his Family, to instruct his Children. Mr. Basnage, who was then a Student at Geneva, hapned to lodg in the same House: He no sooner knew Mr. Bayle but he courted his Friendship; and Mr. Bayle cou'd not oblige himself more, than by giving his intire Affections to a Person whom he mightily esteem'd, and whose Merit began already to be known.

Two Years after, the Count de Dhona 1672. inquiring of Mr. Basnage for a Preceptor for his Children, he recommended Mr. Bayle, who finding himself in a manner perfected in his Studys, accepted the Employment, and had the Direction of the Studys of the Count de Dhona, Governor to the Prince Royal of Prussia; of the Count his Brother, Major General in the Troops of Holland; and of a third Brother of the Family. He stay'd with 'em for about two Years; but growing weary of the Country, he resolv'd for Paris, which he look'd on as the Center of Wit and Politeness. Besides, he knew, the Arts and Sciences flourish'd there more than in any part of the World, by the Care the Ministry took of inviting thither, at any expence, all who excel'd in their
 bns several

several Professions. Constant Conferences were held there on all sorts of Subjects, and Men of Letters had a free and easy Access.

1674. Accordingly he return'd to Geneva in 1674. and after he had seen all his Friends, he departed thence with a Relation of Mr. *Basnage*, who study'd there, and took him along with him to *Roan*. Here he staid about six Months, and afterwards proceeded to *Paris*. The Satisfactions he met with in this great Town were much beyond what he expected; so that he cou'd not forbear thinking all the time he had past in other Places, just so much thrown away. Mr. *De Beringhen*, Great Master of the Horse, took him to be Governor to a young Gentleman of his Family.

1675. Mr. *Basnage* was then at *Sedan*, where he finish'd his Studys in Divinity. Mr. *Bayle* wrote to him frequently, giving accounts of every thing that came out at *Paris*, relating to the Sciences or Polite Learning; and Mr. *Basnage* generally shew'd his Letters to Mr. *Jurieu*, then a Divinity Professor in the College of *Sedan*. Soon after a Philosophy Professor's Chair falling vacant, Mr. *Basnage* cast his Eyes on Mr. *Bayle* to fill it, and

and mention'd him to Mr. *Jurieu* who promis'd to serve him. Mr. *Basnage* wrote to Mr. *Bayle* to come immediately to *Sedan*: but he excus'd himself at first, apprehending that his change of Religion, which was a Secret to all in those parts but Mr. *Basnage*, might come to be discover'd, and a Pretence, grounded on the Edict against relaps'd Persons, be taken to bring him into trouble, and perhaps all the Reform'd of *Sedan*. Mr. *Jurieu* was surpriz'd at the Reluctance which Mr. *Bayle* express'd, and desir'd to know the meaning on't; Mr. *Basnage* told him the true reason, and he assuring him of his Secrecy, said it ought not to hinder his standing for the Chair. Several stood Candidates at the same time, and among others the Son of one of the Professors of the College, who had a strong Party for him; but as Mr. *Basnage* had a great many Friends in that Party too, particularly Mr. *du Rondel* Professor in Oratory, he doubted not but Mr. *Bayle* wou'd carry it from all the Competitors as soon as he had an opportunity of shewing himself. In effect, Mr. *Bayle* disputed with so much Clearness and Force, and discover'd such a Quickness of Apprehension,
and

and so extraordinary a Penetration, that the whole Body of the Academy judg'd him the Victory, and receiv'd him into the Number of its Professors.

Since your Lordship is pleas'd to desire a Character of Mr. *Jurieu*, who has made so much noise in the World, I shall here begin to describe him, such as he then betimes discover'd himself. He had a lively Wit, a rich and happy Imagination, and a manner of writing very agreeable; but withal turbulent, proud, rash, imperious, positive, and abounding with a high Conceit of himself. Fill'd with the Idea of his own extraordinary Talents, he snatch'd greedily at all Occasions of excelling, and giving himself Airs above the rest of the World. But the Heat of his Imagination sometimes confounded his Judgment, and the Impetuosity of his Temper hurry'd him to Practices dishonorable and unworthy a Man of his Profession. Two or three Passages in his Conduct had sufficiently distinguish'd his Character. Mr. *Pajon*, Minister of *Orleans*, and his intimate Friend, a Person of rare Merit and of an admirable good Understanding, had form'd a System on the Operations of

of Grace, which look'd new, but was in the main reconcilable to the Doctrine of Predestination, as understood by all the Churches of *France*. Yet Mr. *Jurieu*, jealous of every thing which seem'd to eclipse his Glory, enter'd into a Cabal with some Ministers of *Paris*, who had no Kindness for Mr. *Pajon*, and did all he cou'd to ruin him. Mr. *D'Huissieu*, Minister of *Sau-mur*, having publish'd a Treatise concerning *The Reunion of Christians*, tending to beget a Spirit of mutual Charity and Toleration, Mr. *Jurieu* wrote an Answer to it with a great deal of Gall and Violence. Mr. *D'Huissieu's* Maxims were far from relishing with his Palat. The Spirit of Gentleness and Moderation is the Bane of a proud and cholerick Nature; and Toleration reducing Men to a kind of Equality, can't fail being the Aversion of Persons spiritually proud, and who look down with Contempt on the rest of the World. Besides, how digest a Doctrine which prostitutes the Favors of Heaven, and bereaves of the sweet Persuasion of being the Confidants of the secret things of God, and the sole Defenders of his

B

Cause?

easy

*

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

Cause? Not to be of these mens Religion, is in short being of no Religion at all. Accordingly Mr. Jurieu expressly declares, *That God had from that time call'd him forth to fight with this Monster of Indifference for all Religions.* Yet he had no great Reason to boast of his Undertaking against Mr. D'Huiffeau; the best Judges found his Reasonings pitiful, and the dear Work was unfortunately condemn'd in the Synod of *Saintonge*, as containing heretical Propositions. This was his first Trial of Skill, and he has taken care not to bely it in his after Performances. The Vehemence of his Passions has often run him into extravagant Notions, and put him upon maintaining several Propositions either false or contradictory; and the warmth of his Imagination sometimes represented things to him quite otherwise than they were. I cou'd give incontestable Instances of this; but I chuse to suppress them, and am willing to draw a veil over some civil Affairs, in which he was indiscreetly embark'd, and some Law Suits mov'd by him, contrary to all Justice and Equity, which oblig'd him to a Journey to *Paris*, and which he wou'd not so easily

*

easily have got clear of, if he had not to deal with Persons of much more Prudence and Moderation than himself. I'll only take notice, that Mr. D'Huiffeau was no less his Friend than Mr. Pajon. But 'twas his way with all that were dearest to him. He pick'd some quarrel or other the moment he apprehended 'em as his Rivals in Glory, or saw they did not espouse and applaud him in every thing. Then he fell foul of 'em, and endeavor'd to blacken their Reputation with a Charge of Heterodoxy. Thus the Fondness of his Soul made him treat his Bosom Friends, *These Gentlemen, says he himself, whom I then attack'd with all my Might, were my Neighbors and best Friends; and never was there the least Misunderstanding between us.*

Every one may plainly see to what Hazards a Body expos'd himself by making so terrible a Friend as Mr. Jarrieu; and no doubt if Mr. Bayle had known the Man, he'd always have shun'd his Conversation with as much Care as he once seem'd to court it. But the Uprightness and Simplicity of his own Heart wou'd not suffer him to entertain Suspensions of this kind. Ever ready to judg charitably, he did not

make it his business to sift Mr. *Jurieu's* Conduct, nor thorowly to examine its secret Motives. 'Tis true too, Mr. *Jurieu's* lofty intractable Humor seem'd incapable of withstanding Mr. Bayle's extreme Modesty and Sweetness of Temper. His Manners were so obliging, his Conduct so regular, and his Discourses so discreet and moderate, that Mr. *Jurieu* cou'd not forbear giving him his utmost Esteem and good Wishes. He liv'd, says he, several years in the Academy of Sedan, without giving the least Offence, either in Word or Deed. His bright Genius, and worthy Principles so engag'd my Affections, that I lov'd him, I own, more intirely than I ever lov'd any one besides. You shall see, my Lord, that Mr. *Jurieu* in process of time wou'd not have Mr. Bayle exempted out of the number of those best Friends of his, whom he persecuted unmercifully.

1679. While he was taken up with the Business of his Place, a Minister of his Acquaintance, in 1679, brought him Mr. *Poiret's* Book, entitl'd, *Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, Anima, & Malo*; and desir'd him to communicate the Difficultys which might occur to his thoughts

in

in the reading. Mr. Bayle examin'd this Work carefully, and sent his Objections against it to his Friend, together with a Letter of Thanks. The Minister communicates 'em to Mr. Poirer, who wrote an Answer to 'em, and sent it him with a Letter, in which he thanks him for having procur'd him an Adversary, so accurate, so judicious, so penetrating, and so Gentleman-like a Writer. These Objections, and the Answer, are inserted in a second Edition which Mr. Poirer gave of his Book at Amsterdam, in 1685.

The next Year after, a Jesuit of Caen 1680.
call'd P. de Valois, under the feign'd name of Louis de la Ville, printed a Treatise at Paris, entitl'd, *The Sentiments of Mr. Descartes concerning the Essence and Propertys of Body, repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church, and favoring the Errors of Calvin in the point of the Eucharist.* He dedicates it to the Clergy of France, and exhorts the Bishops speedily to apply a Remedy to the growing Evil with which the Church was threaten'd by the Cartesians: He conjures 'em, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, to pronounce Sentence of Condemnation against Cartesianism; and to engage 'em

'em the more, by a Reason he knew was all-powerful over their minds, he told 'em of an Order of Council, banishing the *Cartesian* Philosophy out of the University of *Paris*, and of a Letter under the Privy Seal, silencing a *Cartesian* Professor. This Book alarm'd the whole Sect; Mr. *Regis* a famous *Cartesian*, who held constant Conferences at *Paris*, was forc'd to break off, and add this Disgrace to that of never having been able to obtain a Licence for printing a Body of Philosophy, which had lain by him of a long time. Every one dreaded being oblig'd to sign some new Formulary, or to be excommunicated for Heresy.

Mr. *de la Ville*, not content to overthrow the Opinion of the new Philosophers touching the Nature of Body by the Authority of Councils, endeavor'd to confute it by Arguments from Reason; and, to do him justice, he says the utmost that can be advanc'd to prove Extension is not the Essence of Matter. 'Twas on this Article Mr. *Bayle* encounter'd him, who aiming at bringing his Pupils to maintain rational Theses, took for his Subject that Chapter of Mr. *de la Ville*'s Book,

in

in which he endeavors to prove by natural Reasons, that Extension is not the Essence of Matter. And because Mr. *de la Ville*, to compass this end, does little more than enervate, as much as possibly he can, the Reasons by which Messieurs *Clerselier*, *Bohault*, and the Author of the *Search after Truth*, have maintain'd that Extension is the Essence of Matter: Mr. Bayle contents himself with corroborating the Reasons of these Gentlemen, and destroying all Mr. *de la Ville's* Exceptions and Subtletys. He bends his greatest strength to prove, that the Penetration of the Parts of Matter is impossible.

Mr. Bayle had this Dissertation reprinted in *Holland*, with some other curious Pieces, of which I shall take notice in their proper place.

The Comet which appear'd in the month of *December* in the same year, furnish'd him an occasion of writing a new Treatise. As People had an extraordinary Opinion of his Knowledge and Judgment, he found himself continually teas'd with Questions concerning it, proceeding either from Curiosity or Fear. He did all he cou'd to quiet those who were disturb'd at this pre-

tended evil Prefage, but gain'd very little on 'em by Philosophical Reasonings. Still they reply'd, that God expos'd these strange Phenomena o' purpose to give Sinners time to prevent their impending Ruin by Repentance. So he thought 'twou'd be in vain to reason any longer, unless he cou'd produce some Argument to shew that the Divine Attributes permitted not the destining Comets to such an end. He apply'd himself to meditate upon it, and quickly lit on this Theological Argument, *That if Comets were Presages of Evil, God had work'd Miracles to confirm Idolatry.* He did not remember he had ever met with it in any Book, or heard it in Conversation. This made it appear to him perfectly new, and gave him the first thought of writing a Letter on the Subject, to be inserted in the *Mercuré Galant*. He endeavor'd not to exceed the bounds of such a Letter; but the Abundance of Matter wou'd not permit his being short enough, and oblig'd him to take other measures, and look on his Letter as a Piece which must be publish'd apart. He affected Brevity no longer; he enlarg'd at his leisure on every thing that offer'd,

offer'd, still keeping Mr. *Vise* in sight. He resolv'd to send him his Letter, and pray him to give it to his Printer, and get either Mr. *de la Reinie*'s Licence, if that might serve, as it had for printing several other Treatises on Comets; or the Royal Privilege, if nothing less wou'd do. He kept the Manuscript in his hands for some time, without knowing the Author's Name; and when one call'd on him to inquire about it, he answer'd, That he understood by a Person who had read it over, that Mr. *de la Reinie* wou'd ne'er answer for the Consequences of it; and that the Approbation of Doctors must be had, before they sollicit'd a Royal Licence; which was a tedious painful Undertaking, for which he had not leisure enough. His Friend recover'd the Manuscript: And as the Suppression of the Academy of *Sedan* was the occasion of Mr. *Bayle*'s removing to *Holland*, he thought no more of printing his Letter on Comets at *Paris*.

The King of *France* having resolv'd by little and little to extinguish the Reformation in his Dominions, began some time before to suppress the Academics belonging to the Protestants: That

1681.

That of Sedan had the same fate with the rest. Mr. Bayle being out of business, resolv'd to quit the place, and make a trip to *Paris*; where he arriv'd without knowing whether he shou'd go on to *Rotterdam*, where he had some hopes given him of an Establishment, or go over to *England*, or continue in *France*. Before he left Sedan, the Count de la Bourlie, who was Governor, and who had a very particular esteem for Mr. Bayle, omitted nothing that might engage him to turn Catholick. He let him in a word understand, That 'twas wholly in his own power to make his Fortune, and that 'twas full time for him to think on't. Mr. Bayle absolutely rejected the Proposition. He was soon after call'd to *Rotterdam*, and procur'd a Settlement for Mr. Jurieu in the same Town, as you shall see, my Lord, in the Account I'm going to transcribe; and which may serve to give a juster Idea of the Spirit of this Minister.

The College of Sedan was no sooner dissolv'd, than Mr. Jurieu, much concern'd at the loss of the best part of his Fortune, began to look out for a better Income than that of Minister, which was still left him. His first Thought

Thought was to acquaint the Visitors of the College of *Groningen*, that if they had such a place to give him as they offer'd him formerly, he was ready to accept it. But the Prayers and earnest Instances of *Mademoiselle Mary de Moulin* his Aunt, a Person of great worth, seconded by those of several other good People of *Sedan*, prevail'd on him to promise he would not forsake his Church, at a time when it stood in greater need of its Pastors than ever. But as his proud peevish Temper had render'd him very odious to the Roman Catholics of *Sedan*, and his affecting to distinguish himself by Starts of Zeal, which did the Reform'd a deal of prejudice, had provok'd some of the Magistrates against him; he resum'd the Design of getting away betimes: and remembring the *Walloon* Church of *Rotterdam* had formerly desir'd him for their Minister, he turn'd his eyes that way. Mr. Bayle, who had expectations in the same Town, by the Favor of a Magistrate, procur'd him by one of his Friends, was overjoy'd at this Overture; and so earnestly engag'd his Friend in this Affair too, that he prevail'd on the same Patron to issue a Vo-

cation

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

cation to Mr. Jurieu. Mr. Bayle's Friend was one Mr. *Van Zoelen*, a young Gentleman of *Rotterdam*, and a Relation to Mr. *Van Zoelen* Burgomaster of the same Town. This young man had lodg'd with Mr. Bayle at *Sedan*, improv'd himself considerably in his Studys by his Conversation, and had entertain'd a thorow Friendship for him; so that the very day the Order for suppressing the Academy came to *Sedan*, he took a Resolution of sending it to Mr. *Paets*, his Relation, one of the Counsellors of the City of *Rotterdam*, a very learned and considerable Person, and a Lover of Men of Letters. He let him know by the same Post that Mr. Bayle was out of Business, said a great many kind things of him; and receiv'd an Answer expressing a great Inclination to serve him. Mr. Bayle wrote upon this occasion a Letter to this worthy Person; who soon after return'd him an Answer, That the Town of *Rotterdam* had granted him a Pension, with a Licence to teach Philosophy there.

Mr. *Van Zoelen* and Mr. Bayle had left *Sedan* before the Arrivall of this Answer, the latter to go to *Paris*, the other to go strait to *Rotterdam*, and sollicite
Mr.

Mr. *Jurieu's* Affair in Person, which Mr. *Bayle* had earnestly recommended to him. He spoke on't to his Relation in so pressing a manner (for Mr. *Bayle* had, among other things, cleverly insinuated, that he must lose no time for fear other Employments shou'd offer for Mr. *Jurieu*) that this illustrious Magistrate bestir'd himself immediately to remove all Obstacles. There was none at all with regard to Mr. *Bayle*; so the Letter wrote him by Mr. *Paets* signify'd, that his Business was settled, and Mr. *Jurieu's* in a fair way. Mr. *Bayle* then being at *Paris*, Mr. *Jurieu* receiv'd the Letter; but instead of sending it to Mr. *Bayle*, as 'twas all the reason in the world he shou'd, he contented himself with taking notice to him in general of the substance on't, nor ever deliver'd it after. As Mr. *Bayle* was a very easy Friend, who turn'd away his Thoughts from every thing, which if div'd into, might tempt him to judge hardly of Persons, he truly had some suspicion that this Letter was wrote in Terms too obliging for him, and not quite so obliging to the Person who kept it in his hands; yet he did not dwell on it, not even in a Thought.

Whilst

Whilst Mr. Paets at Rotterdam was removing all the Obstacles to Mr. Jurieu's Vocation, Mr. Bayle was inform'd he had engag'd himself to the Church of Roan; so that he was mightily surpriz'd in his Journey for Holland, to hear that Mr. Jurieu was broke up from Sedan with some precipitation, and making the best of his way into Holland. He thought he cou'd not be very far from Rotterdam, when asking about him at Maestricht, they inform'd him he was actually there. Mr. Bayle made but a short stay at Maestricht, and upon his Arrival at Rotterdam, was receiv'd in the most obliging manner imaginable by the Family of Mr. Van Zoelen, very considerable in this Town; and by Mr. Paets, who had procur'd him a Philosophy and History Professor's Chair in the illustrious School, which the worshipful Magistrates of Rotterdam had just founded. Mr. Paets was but newly return'd from his Embassy to Spain. He was a Person of extraordinary Merit, no less distinguish'd by his Acquaintance with all the most profound Parts of Learning, than by his great Ability in managing the Business of the State, as your Lordship shall see more particularly hereafter. He was Brother-in-law

in law to Mr. *Cornelius de Wit*, and consider'd as Head of the Party which oppos'd the House of *Orange*; and therefore it was not without some difficulty that he was admitted again into the Magistracy of *Rotterdam* after his return from *Spain*. This great Man was so charm'd with the Beauty of Mr. Bayle's Wit, that he enter'd him into the number of his most intimate Friends; and to give him beforehand some particular mark of his Esteem, he was pleas'd, upon his bare recommendation, to imploy all his credit to get Mr. *Jurieu* a Settlement in *Rotterdam*, insomuch that he was soon after made Professor in Divinity there.

Some months after Mr. Bayle revis'd his Letter on Comets, and having made several Additions, he printed it under the following Title: *A Letter to M. L. A. D. C. a Doctor of Sorbon; in which is shewn, by several Reasons drawn from Philosophy and Divinity, That Comets are not Presages of Evil, with Reflections Moral and Political, several Historical Observations, and a Confutation of some reigning popular Errors.* Mr. Bayle having wrote this Letter with a Design, as I observ'd before, of having it printed at *Paris*, he was oblig'd to assume the

Stile

Stile of a Roman Catholick, and imitate the Language and Elogys of Mr. *de Vise* on the publick Affairs. This Conduct was absolutely necessary for any who wou'd appear in Print at *Paris*, and he thought his imitating the *Mercurie Galant* in some of his Flights, wou'd help to recommend it to a Licence. As he had taken the utmost Precautions to conceal his being the Author of this *Letter on Comets*, which was printed in *Holland* some months after his Arrivall, he made no Alterations in the Stile or Language: This he thought wou'd effectually prevent Peoples imagining that 'twas wrote by a Person who had abdicated *France* for his Religion.

But notwithstanding all his Precautions, he was soon discover'd to be the Author. Mr. *Leers* his Bookseller shew'd the Manuscript to Mr. *Paets*, and told him from whom he had it; and Mr. *Paets* believ'd he shou'd do Mr. Bayle a piece of Service, by making it publick. On the whole, tho Mr. Bayle's Design was properly to undeceive the World, with regard to the common Prejudices for Prefage; yet he had the Art of enlivening his Matter by Digressions so engaging, and by such a variety of fine and judicious

judicious Reflections, that from that time he began to be look'd on as one of the best Pens of *Europe*. This Work was no less admir'd in *France* than elsewhere, tho' 'twas easily seen that the Praises there were only from the Teeth outwards, and that they cou'd not but perceive in it several lively home Strokes at the *Roman Religion*. Mr. *Paets* then cou'd not make Mr. *Bayle* known to more advantage, than by discovering him to be the Author of the Letter upon Comets. Mr. *Jurieu* among others came to know it by his means, either at the first or second hand; and speaking on't to Mr. *Bayle* with a small Reproach, that others were let into the Secret and he not, Mr. *Bayle* declar'd to him how the whole matter came about, and enter'd with him into an explication of some Points in the Book. The Work was then so much to Mr. *Jurieu's* mind, that he advis'd his Friends to buy and read it, recommending it as a very good Piece; but withal, cou'd not forbear harboring a secret resentment, jealous, as he ever was, of the Reputation of his Friends.

Much about this time Mr. *Maimbourg* publish'd his *History of Calvinism*.

more

C

This

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

This Author had liv'd for above fifty Years in a Society of Jesuits, and with a great deal of Distinction; but the Superiors oblig'd him now to march off, to prevent any Umbrage from the Court of *Rome*, which was highly displeas'd at some of his Writings. This serv'd but to raise his Reputation higher; for the King of *France*, who at that time study'd only how to mortify the Pope, took him into his Royal Protection, and gave him a very considerable Pension. He had a deal of Wit, and a boundless stock of fine Images for giving a hundred pleasing dextrous turns to Affairs; his Style, tho somewhat diffuse, was sprightly and shining, and here and there one fell in with very beautiful flights of Eloquence. But tho he pretended to the Character of a Historian, he troubl'd himself very little about the faithful part. He even misrepresented matters most an end, either to gratify his own Passion, or to flatter the Court from whence he deriv'd so many Favors. Such being the Genius of Mr. *Maimbourg*, you can't think it strange, my Lord, that there shou'd be a general demand for his Works. His *History of Calvinism* was read with so much the
more

more gusto, as it had been expected of a good while, and as it turn'd besides on matters of the highest Importance. The Design was to pronounce Judgment on the Spirit and Conduct of the Reform'd in *France*, ever since they had separated from the Church of *Rome*. Mr. *Maimbourg* discharg'd all his Gall on 'em, and employ'd the utmost Artifices of his Pen, to draw upon 'em the Contempt and Indignation of the Catholicks. Mr. *Bayle* cou'd not bear the Unfaithfulness which ran thro the whole Relation, nor the hideous Picture he had drawn of the Reformation; and in the Apprehension that it might in some measure hasten the Ruin of the Reform'd, he resolv'd to oppose an Answer to it, which might fully vindicate 'em from all his Calumnys. But to compass his end, he did not think it necessary to answer in Form, and enter into a nice Discussion of Facts. 'Twas enough, he thought, for ruining Mr. *Maimbourg's* whole Scheme, to make some general Observations on his Book, and to shew what kind of Judgment we must pass on things, if we suppose 'em such as this Author represents. The little Certainty he had

had found in History, made him pitch upon this Method as the surest and properest for confounding his Adversary. He had observ'd, that all Party's misrepresent Facts in such a manner, especially where Religion is concern'd, that 'tis an infinite trouble to sift out the Truth. Each side displays every thing that's most for its advantage, and dissembles, or but faintly mentions whatever is not in its favor; and how is't possible to separate Truth from Falshood under so many fraudulent Disguises? Such a Discussion is so tedious, so painful, and generally so insignificant, that Mr. Bayle had a great deal of Reason to avoid it.

His Answer came out in June 1682. under the Title of *A General Criticism on P. Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*. You, my Lord, are too well acquainted with Mr. Bayle's turn of Wit, not to judg that this Piece must be the farthest in the World from a sour splenetick Criticism. 'Twas properly a kind of toying, but fill'd with good Sense, and fitter to embarrass and deconcert his Adversary than the gravest serious Argument. Mr. Bayle's perfect Acquaintance with all modern Writings had furnish'd him with a
*
thousand

thousand Particulars of the Life and Disputes of Mr. *Maimbourg*, which open'd a large Field for the finest and most pointed Raillery. Accordingly this Work was so well receiv'd by the Publick, that the whole Edition was bought up in four months. The Author was enquir'd for with great Earnestness; at last People cast their Eyes on one of the best Pens of the Protestant Party in *France*. No body ever dream'd of searching for him in *Holland*, amidst the Dust of a College. Besides, tho Mr. *Bayle* did not industriously design it, he gave the Stile of this Criticism an Air so different from that of the Letter on Comets, that no one suspected the two Works were the Production of one and the same Pen. A pure Accident drew Mr. *Bayle* from behind the Curtain: for answering the Letter of an Anonymous, which his Bookseller had sent him, he forgot to desire him not to deliver the Original but a written Copy. This Anonymous, a Friend of Mr. *Claude's* the Son, ask'd, as he shew'd him Mr. *Bayle's* Answer, whether he knew the Hand. Mr. *Claude* telling him whose it was,

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

was, 'twas in vain for Mr. Bayle to make a Mystery any longer of his being the Author of the Criticism. The second Edition of it was finish'd in November following. Mr. Bayle enlarg'd it to double the Bulk, yet keeping strictly within the Limits he had prescrib'd himself. I mean, he did not enter into a Discussion of Facts, nor Researches of History, such as might manifest the Innocence of the Reform'd, and the Unfairness of Mr. Maimbourg.

Mr. Jurieu also undertook to answer Mr. Maimbourg, and accordingly compos'd a Book, bulky enough indeed, entitl'd, *An Apology for the Reformers, for the Reformation, and for the Reform'd, divided into four Parts, against a Libel entitled, The History of Calvinism by Mr. Maimbourg.* Unfortunately the Publick did not give this Work so good a Reception as it had given Mr. Bayle's, nor call'd for it with the same Eagerness. Mr. Bayle's Critique had been admir'd by the best Judges, and in France the very Catholicks cou'd not refuse it their Praises. It's true, the Ministers of State were touch'd at it to the quick, yet this hinder'd not their doing Justice to the Author. But they were very far from judging

judging so advantageously of Mr. Jurieu's Apology. Give me leave, my Lord, to relate in this place what Mr. Menage said of both in the Conferences he held at his own House, and of which his Friends have preserv'd us some Remains. *It's a fine Piece, says this learned Man, a fine Piece, this Criticism on P. Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, and he himself cou'd not deny it his Esteem.* He has own'd so much to me, tho he generally affected to speak of it as of a Book he had not read: Bating what relates to Religion, all Mr. Bayle says is sprightly and rational. I had the Curiosity to read what Mr. Jurieu has wrote on the same Subject: there's a great deal of difference between the Men; Mr. Bayle's Book is that of a Gentleman and a well-bred Man; Mr. Jurieu's is all Cant and Impertinence. *It's a paltry Repetition of all that insipid Stuff which Du Moulin and others have said against the Catholick Religion.* Mr. Jurieu was enrag'd at Mr. Bayle's standing in competition with him, and much more at the different Judgments pass'd upon their Works. The Friendship he had for him was no longer proof against his Pride; it began from that time forward

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

to grow cold; and he has fully shewn in the sequel, how far the Resentment of an Author may be push'd when naturally splenetick, and intoxicated with a high Opinion of himself.

About this time Mr. Bayle gave a second Edition of his Letter on Comets: But as he ever had an Aversion to long Titles, he chang'd it to that of *Miscellaneous Reflections on occasion of the Comet, &c.* This new Edition was much larger than the former, and Mr. Bayle divided the Work into several short Sections, to give his Reader the more Rests, and the Convenience of resuming or drawing Breath when he pleas'd. He also gave himself the trouble of translating the *Latin* Passages into *French*, for the Benefit of a great many honest Gentlemen and People of good Sense, who deal not in the Originals.

1684. The Year following, that is, in 1684: he publish'd *A Collection of several curious Pieces, concerning the Principles of Mr. Descartes.* This Collection consists of six intire Pieces; the first is a kind of *Concordat* between the Fathers of the Oratory and the Jesuits, in which those engage themselves to certain Conditions in teaching their Pupils, which are thought

thought requisite by these ; and among other things they promise to renounce the Cartesian Philosophy, of which they began to be the avow'd Patrons. The second Piece contains some Reflections on this Condescension of the Fathers of the Oratory. The third is an Examination of Mr. *de la Ville's* Book : this Author pretended, that all the new Philosophers, whether *Cartesians* or *Gassendists*, ruin'd the Mystery of Transubstantiation, by maintaining that the Essence of Matter consists in Extension : And as his Book made a mighty Noise in *France*, and did the *Cartesians* much Mischief, as I have already observ'd ; Mr. *Bernier*, a known Admirer of Mr. *Gassendi*, began to be in pain, and compos'd that Explication in which he endeavors to reconcile the Principles of his Philosophy with the Decisions of the Church of *Rome*. The fourth is the Work of a *Cartesian*, in Answer to the same Mr. *de la Ville*, and in favor of *P. Malebranche*. Not but this great Philosopher had himself given an Answer to this Author, which was afterwards inserted in his *Search after Truth* ; but as Mr. *de la Ville* seem'd more animated against him than against any

any other *Cartesian*, 'twas thought fit that one of the Party shou'd keep his back hand. These four Pieces are follow'd by a *Latin* Dissertation of Mr. Bayle's, which I had the Honor of mentioning to your Lordship on another Occasion; and by some Theses of Philosophy by the same Hand, wherein is maintain'd, among other things, that neither Time, Place, nor Motion, have yet bin defin'd, but in a manner altogether inexplicable. It's likewise observ'd there, that the Reflexion of Bodys proceeds from an Elastick Virtue in 'em, since Motion is infinitely divisible; and by reason of this Divisibility, no Body in a state of rest, can hinder another which is in motion, from moving in a right Line; which Mr. *Descartes* it seems was not aware of. At the end of this Collection are some *Metaphysical Meditations*, printed by a Disciple of P. *Malebranche*, in 1678. under the borrow'd Name of *Williams Wander*. There we find an Abstract of the *Cartesian* Metaphysics, and every thing that's valuable in *Descartes's* Meditations. Mr. Bayle even thinks, that the matter is better digested here, brought into a narrower Compass, and workt up to a better

better consistence than in the Writings of that celebrated Philosopher, and carry'd some lengths further. That single Meditation in which he examines what Liberty is, is a Theme in his Opinion, on which the greatest Divines might exercise their Talents. *Instead of wrangling, says he, on the Nature of Free-will, which they always suppose, without amasing themselves with the Proofs, they ought in the first place to prove there is such a thing; the Question may be of more Importance, and have a greater depth than they are aware.*

About this time the Visitors of the College of *Franeker*, who had known Mr. Bayle by his *Reflections on Comets*, offer'd him a Philosophy Professor's Chair with them. But tho this Post was more beneficial, and indeed more creditable than that of *Roterdam*, he thank'd 'em for the Honor they did him, but was loth to remove from his Friends at *Roterdam*, hoping he shou'd meet Mr. *Basnage* there, whom he believ'd the Persecution wou'd soon waft thither, as it accordingly hapned.

The Design of informing the Publick by a kind of Journal, of the most curious Occurrences in the Republick of Letters,

Letters, had been found so instructive and agreeable, that no sooner had Mr. Sallo, a Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, publish'd his first Essays of this Project, in 1665. but several other Nations express their Satisfaction in it, either by translating the *Journal des Savans*, which this ingenious Person had printed every Week, or by publishing something of the same kind.

This Emulation had sensibly increas'd ever since that time, insomuch as it extended it self, not only from Nation to Nation, but from one Science to another. Mr. Bayle, who understood the Usefulness and Advantage of such Journals best of any body, was mightily surpriz'd, that *Holland*, which had always signaliz'd it self in the Improvement of the noble Arts, had not hitherto taken part in the general Emulation. His wonder increas'd the more when he consider'd, that this Country was as well if not better furnish'd with Books than any part of the World; that the People were naturally industrious and inquisitive; that their Voyages to the *Indies* help'd 'em to the Knowledg of a thousand Raritys and Things utterly unknown to other Nations: And lastly,

lastly, that the Press was so open, that Authors from all parts of *Europe* had recourse to *Holland*, when discourag'd by the Difficulty of obtaining Licences at home. All these Considerations had tempted him more than once to write a Journal or History of the Learned; but he soon gave over the Design when he consider'd the Time and infinite Application which such an Undertaking requir'd; and liv'd always in hopes, that some body else wou'd present for the purpose. Accordingly the first Month of this Year there appear'd a kind of Journal, entitl'd, the *Mer-cure Savant*. Mr. de Blegny, Author of the *Journal or History of Physick*, and of several Treatises of *Chirurgery*, compos'd it at *Paris*, and sent the Sheets to Mr. Gaultier, a Physician of *Niort*, who liv'd at *Amsterdam*, and got 'em printed there. One wou'd think he undertook this Journal only to cry up his own Works, and damn those of all other Writers. 'Twas a happy Thought, and I cou'd name your Lordship some Journalists of the blue Ribbon, who have improv'd upon the Example. However something there was so irregular in this new Journal,

that

that 'twas dropt the very next Month after. No sooner had Mr. Bayle seen the *Mercure Savant*, but he felt his former Passion kindle in him anew, and with more Force than ever. The Plan of this he observ'd was defective, and he was exceedingly shock'd at the visible Design in it of running down illustrious Men. Mr. *Jurieu*, who was privy to Mr. Bayle's Thoughts in this point, and who from a sight of the *Mercure Savant* comprehended the Advantages which might be made of such a Journal, urg'd him extremely to prosecute the Design, hoping to have in him a trusty Pen for forming the Panegyrick of all his own Books. He flatter'd himself too with the Hopes of inserting in it now and then some Memoirs against those who had the misfortune not to be in his good Graces; and was besides very desirous Mr. Bayle shou'd be engag'd in a matter, which he was sure wou'd prevent his ever interfering with himself.

Mr. Bayle therefore having resolv'd to enter the Lists as a Journalist, began with the Month of *March* to give us his *Account of the Republick of Letters*. This of all his Works was that which the Publick coveted most, and which perhaps

perhaps was most universally relish'd. All was sprightly and animated in his Extracts; he had the knack of diversifying his matter agreeably, and conveying the Idea of a Book in a few words, without tiring the Reader by an ill Choice, or by tedious pall'd Reflections. He was discreet and reserv'd in his Characters, loth to discourage his Authors, or to expose himself by prostituting his Praises. 'Twas thought tho that he prais'd too much in his first Journals, and this oblig'd him to be afterwards more reserv'd in this particular. Very far from the Spirit of most Authors, whenever he was advertis'd of a Fault he took a Pleasure in acknowledging it to the Publick. This was an effect of his extreme Modesty, and of his ardent Love of Truth. I shan't stop here, my Lord, to collect the Elogys given Mr. Bayle on occasion of this Journal. I shall only observe, that all the other Journalists endeavor to copy, but none as we can see comes near him.

The second Edition of his *Criticism on the History of Calvinism* being sold off in a very short time, Mr. Bayle was oblig'd to publish a third. As he believ'd

liev'd this might be the last that would sell, he cou'd willingly have brought it as near Perfection as possible; but he durst not, for fear of disobliging those who had bought it twice before, and because People often murmur at new Editions, review'd, amended, and enlarg'd, which take off the Value of the former, and give Persons some regret that they laid out their Mony in 'em. He took care then that this Edition shou'd not much differ from the Second, and publish'd an Advertisement, that all who had the Second Edition might keep to it, and that the Third ought not to give 'em any Temptation. Yet he cou'd not forbear making some Additions and Amendments, which render'd it much preferable to the former. He made some change in the Disposition of the Letters (for I forgot, my Lord, to tell you, that Mr. Bayle compos'd this Work by way of Letters) but he chiefly apply'd himself to the polishing the Stile, by striking out all chiming or ambiguous Expressions. Mr. Bayle had study'd his own Language to a nicety, and no one better knew the difficulty of writing in it to Perfection.

Perfection. They who thorowly understand our Language, says he, and who have a nice Ear, own there's nothing harder than writing justly in French, so as to avoid all chiming Expressions, Consonances, and Phrases, where the same word may be refer'd to several other Phrases, and admit of different Senses, some of which may sometimes be ridiculous. The new French Grammarians, adds he, lay down Rules which 'tis impossible to follow, and which deserve to be lookt on as the bane of Authors. They have made the French the difficultest of all Languages to excel in; and therefore we find so few who write by their Rules. We have scarce an Author whose Prose is not fill'd with Verses, Cadences, disagreeable Periods, Consonances, chiming Sounds, and continual Equivoques. They who would avoid Equivoques, are oblig'd to range their Words according to the natural Order of the Thoughts; and in this Situation, which is one and the same in all Men, 'tis impossible to avoid chiming, because the French Tongue does not over-abound in Words, or in different Terminations.

Some time after Mr. Bayle publish'd a kind of a Continuation of the Work, 1685.

1711

D

which

which I have now spoke of, entitl'd, *New Letters of the Author of the general Criticism on P. Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, first Part; wherein, justifying some Passages of the Criticism, which seem chargeable with Contradiction, fallacious Reasonings, and other Defects of the same kind, several curious Subjects are occasionally handled, which have a relation to these matters.* In his Advice to the Reader, Mr. Bayle owns, that after he had with much difficulty consented to the printing it, he was often tempted to stop the Impression, considering how rare a thing it is not to degenerate, when, after a Book has had some sort of Success, one ventures to give a Continuation. *Pieces of this kind, adds he, almost always import, That the Author has not kept up to his Character, that he had done well to have stop'd where he was, that he shou'd have known his own Strength, and that he was wrong to hazard his not answering the Opinion the World had conceiv'd of him.* He afterwards shews by some just Reflections, that these Judgments may sometimes be reasonable; but for the most part, if a Continuation is not thought equal with the first

*

first Work, 'tis not so much the Fault of the Author as the Reader. But as the Disgrace is still the same, he concludes, that if one excepts a small Number of Writers, who have had the good Fortune to prepossess the Publick, the rest have reason to dread the Comparison between Work and Work, if the first Part has not altogether displeas'd.

" But, continues he, if ever any had
" cause to dread the Comparison, surely
" I have; because I'm now destitute
" of a thousand outward Circumstan-
" ces, which in all likelihood produc'd
" the whole Success of the *General Cri-*
" *ticism*, if it be true that it was not al-
" together disesteem'd. 'Twas at first
" ascrib'd to one of our most celebrated
" Pens; and this Opinion spreading from
" place to place, prepossess'd the World to
" such a degree (for he is one of those
" happily privileg'd Authors) that the
" Book was read with the most favora-
" ble Dispositions; which prevented se-
" veral Readers perceiving, that it was
" not a Production solid enough to come
" from such a Hand. They who did
" perceive it, chang'd only to other as
" favorable Dispositions, arising from
" the

“the Civility paid to an unknown Vir-
 “gin Author. The Pleasure of gueſſing,
 “the Cuſtom of magnifying what we
 “are Strangers to, and a hundred other
 “Devices of the Imagination, amus’d
 “the World, and made ’em ſpeak advan-
 “tageouſly of the Book. What ſhall I
 “ſay of Mr. Maimbourg’s Reputation,
 “which alone was ſufficient to excite
 “the Curioſity of the Publick for a *Cri-
 “ticism on his Hiſtory of Calvinism*, eſpe-
 “cially at the time he wrote it? The
 “Hiſtorys of this Jeſuit took mightily,
 “they were read in all Countrys; that
 “of Calvinism nearly concern’d a con-
 “ſiderable Body in *Europe*: the Pro-
 “ceedings of the Pope againſt him had
 “drawn the Eyes of all thoſe upon him
 “more than ever, who were given to
 “reading; People expected with Impa-
 “tience what the Calviniſts wou’d ſay
 “to this new Writer of the Hiſtory
 “of their Religion; the whole Party
 “wiſh’d paſſionately, that ſome body
 “wou’d confute this Man; and their
 “Wiſhes for his ſucceeding in’t diſ-
 “poſ’d ’em powerfully to believe, and
 “to make others believe, ſo the Work
 “were tolerable, that he had admir-
 “ably defended the Cauſe; laſt of all,
 con-

“ contraband Books had bin very rare,
“ tho the Persecution of the *Hugonots*
“ had made a great noise.

After this Mr. *Bayle* shews he was now destitute of the help of all these favorable Circumstances, and consequently had reason to fear, that his Readers might look on his Continuation of the *Criticism* as a younger Brother, and a Dishonor to the Head of the Family: and from hence proceeded the Temptation, which he was often under to stop it in the Impression. “ If you’d

“ know, adds he, how I conquer’d so
“ plausible a Temptation, you must
“ imagine a Man who, searching after
“ that blest Independence on which
“ *Epictetus* has given us such admirable
“ Lessons, has a Soul Philosophical
“ enough to be easily comforted under
“ Disgrace, and perhaps need no Comfort
“ for the Disadvantages this new
“ Collection of Letters may fall under.
“ And what, pray, shou’d we gain by
“ Study, if we continu’d, like other
“ Men, in a vile Servitude to the Publick,
“ I mean in a Dependence on the
“ Opinions of others? No, we must
“ not lie down in this Slavery; yet

“ ’twere doing as much, to suppress
 “ Books half printed, for fear the Rea-
 “ der shou’d say this or that. We
 “ must e’en let ’em take their For-
 “ tune, and convince our selves by an
 “ Experiment, that we are free.

This Work contains two and twenty Letters. In the first Mr. Bayle makes some Reflections upon Authors not bearing to be criticiz’d on: He relates the Objections sent to him against his *Critique Generale*, and notes those which he intends to confute. The second Letter turns upon Authors contradicting themselves. The third contains several Miscellaneous matters. In the fourth he treats of the Quality of *Great Man*, and the ill Effects of Praise. In the fifth he applys to the famous Mr. *Arnauld*, what was advanc’d in the former Letter. In the sixth he examines the Example of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, alledg’d to justify Authors who write in a violent Stile. The seventh shews, that angry Authors don’t go unpunish’d, and assigns the reason of it. Mr. Bayle speaks in the eighth of some Edicts publish’d in *France* against the Reform’d. In the ninth he treats of the Rights of an erroneous Conscience, and
 of

of Errors attended with Sincerity. He justifies in the tenth some Remarks he had made on a Letter of Mr. *Pelisson* touching the Conversions of the Reform'd in *France*. In the eleventh and twelfth he answers what Mr. *Arnauld* had publish'd, to prove the Sincerity of the new Converts. He speaks in the thirteenth of the Motives of the Nobility of *France*, as well for rejecting as for embracing the Reformation. In the fourteenth he speaks of the Marriage of Bishops who chang'd their Religion. In the sixteenth he examines Philosophically, why Men are less fond of Wedlock than Women, and what's the cause of the Love of Parents for their Children. The seventeenth contains Reflections on the Usefulness of Jealousy. The eighteenth has several Miscellaneous Observations. In the nineteenth he speaks of a Passage of *Brantome*, which he had struck out of the Third Edition of his *Critique Generale*; and of the Principles of Morality which are scatter'd in Mr. *Maimbourg's* Historys. In the twentieth he has some Reflections on the Learning of Preachers, and on Mr. *Maimbourg's* Omission of the last Prince of *Condé*, in the Elogy of his Ancestors.

Ancestors. The twenty first Letter is written against the Author, by one Mr. Crisante; and here again the Marriage of the first Reformers is spoke to, who quitted the Cloyster, or chang'd from the state of Priesthood. And Mr. Bayle in the twenty second, answers an Objection contain'd in the preceding Letter.

Here, my Lord, is in general the Subject of this Work; for 'twere troublefom entring into a detail of all the Matters treated in it. You'll easily judg, by what I have said, that Mr. Bayle does here sometimes give a full swing to his Imagination, and often studys only how to instruct his Reader by amusing him agreeably. This was the end he propos'd himself; and in this Disposition one must read several of his new Letters, to pass an equitable Judgment on 'em, and do the Author all the Justice he deserves. Accordingly he fails not to advertise the Publick, that his Design was not to write like a grave Doctor, or for Men of Learning; but for a world of People, who seek, properly speaking, only an innocent Amusement, which may improve, but not fatigue. Yet so few had taken him right, that

that he was forc'd to complain on't :
“ It must be own'd, says he, in his
“ *Republique des Lettres* for the Month
“ of July, 1685. that most Readers
“ are strange Folks : One may take
“ the pains to advertise 'em of a thou-
“ sand things, recommend this or that
“ to 'em in the most humble manner ;
“ they'l have their own way and their
“ humor nevertheless. There have bin
“ Novels written on the fruitless Pre-
“ cautions of Mothers and Husbands ;
“ I'm amaz'd no body has shew'd the
“ Folly of the like Precautions in our
“ Gentlemen Authors. I know one,
“ adds he, whose Work has not bin
“ out of the Press above six Months,
“ who had neglected nothing to secure
“ himself from rash Judgments : In
“ his Preface he had given the most
“ essential Cautions ; and where he had
“ any mistrust of his Reader, he had
“ expressly warn'd him, that his Sense
“ might be mistaken, unless care were
“ taken to examine what he said alto-
“ gether. He had even carry'd his Pre-
“ cautions so far, as to set down his
“ real Opinion in Capital Letters, and
“ in some sort to menace those who
“ shou'd misunderstand him, as being
“ left

"left inexcusable; yet all to no purpose.
 "He has since bin made sensible, that
 "some even of the Tribe of Authors
 "have gone into the noose, from which
 "he had taken so much pains to pre-
 "serve 'em. To return, Mr. Bayle de-
 sign'd in the beginning, to continue this
First Part of his new Letters, by an
 Addition of two Parts more, the first
 of which was intended to satisfy those
 who said, he had in his *Critique Gene-
 rale* too slightly touch'd some things
 which deserv'd a greater Consideration,
 as the Conference at *Poissi*, the first tak-
 ing up of Arms, the Version of the
Psalms, &c. And the second to explain
 some Difficultys of Controversy. Nay,
 he had of a long time prepar'd the Mat-
 ters for each of these Parts; but his o-
 ther Occupations hinder'd his giving
 'em the finishing stroke.

I ought not to forget, that he began
 the second Year of his *Account of the
 Republick of Letters*, by a small change
 which put 'em out of the number of
 Anonymous Works; I mean, he added
 to the Title of the Month of *March*,
 1685. the following words, By *Mr.
 Bayle*, Professor in *Philosophy and His-
 tory* at *Rotterdam*. This he did to shew,
 that

that the Author of this Journal was one of the Professors of that *illustrious School*, which the worshipful Magistrates of *Rotterdam* had the Generosity to found there in 1681. and that if the Publick receiv'd any Information, or useful Entertainment by this *Account*, they might know 'twas wholly owing to these Gentlemen, since 'twas to them the Author was oblig'd for that happy Leisure which permitted him to apply himself to so hard an Undertaking. He wou'd also testify by this means, tho he did not dedicate in form, yet that he consecrated it intirely to 'em. He who has any thing of a genteel Spirit, studys how to return on his Benefactors that Glory he derives from 'em, and is never easy till he finds out some way or other of making his Acknowledgments publick.

Mr. *Van Paets* was then in *England* upon the Business of the *States General*; and as the Question concerning Toleration was much agitated there about that time, he wrote a *Latin* Letter on the occasion to Mr. Bayle, giving him his Thoughts on a Subject of such Importance. This Letter was printed soon

soon after under this Title: H. V. P. ad B— *de nuperis Anglia motibus Epistola, in qua de diversorum a publica Religione circa divina sentientium disseritur Tolerantia.*

Mr. Van Paets began his Letter with the Praises of the Prince, who was then upon the Throne, for having never violated the Instincts of his own Conscience; and was in hopes, that as he was not one of those Kings, who reckon the Reputation of not being as good as their word, one of the least Misfortunes, but on the contrary, had all along religiously kept his own, he would punctually observe the Assurances he had given his Protestant Subjects. After this kind of Preamble he attacks those who maintain, that Kings ought to allow only one Religion in their Dominions, and the People suffer no King who is not of their Religion. He maintain'd, that these were most pernicious Maxims with regard to Sovereigns and to Subjects, and that they cou'd only spring from a Corruption of Heart. He afterwards endeavors to confute the Reasons which Politicians and Priests alledg against a Toleration: and after having shewn the Impertinence

nence of the Doctrine of Infallibility, which the Church of Rome arrogates, he concludes with an Explication of certain Points which he had advanc'd before, and shews, 'twere an easy matter to unite all Protestant Sects into one Society. Mr. Bayle gave an extract of this small Work as soon as it appear'd; and Mr. Paets hapning to die about the same time, he added a Character of him in his Republick of Letters. I shall transcribe it from him with so much the more Pleasure, as you have seem'd willing, my Lord, to know this great Man more particularly.

" This was not the first time, says
 " Mr. Bayle, that the illustrious Mr.
 " Paets, Author of the Letter which
 " we have mention'd, had reason'd
 " solidly on the point of Toleration.
 " There are some other Letters of his
 " extant on this Subject, in the Col-
 " lection of the *Præstantium ac erudi-*
 " *torum virorum Epistola*, printed first
 " in Octavo, and afterwards in Folio, at
 " Amsterdam, in 1684. These are no-
 " ble Monuments of his Eloquence, and
 " of the Solidity of his Judgment. He
 " might easily have given the World
 " many others more considerable, had
 " he

“ he the Ambition of being an Au-
 “ thor; for he was a profound Divine,
 “ a great Civilian, a great Statesman,
 “ and a great Philosopher. He had a
 “ very happy way of conceiving things,
 “ and div’d to the bottom of ’em after
 “ a surprizing manner. Never any
 “ Man reason’d more solidly, or gave
 “ a more majestick turn to whatever
 “ he had to deliver. But he was born
 “ for greater Occupations than that of
 “ an Author. His extraordinary Em-
 “ bassy into *Spain*, which he discharg’d
 “ with so much Advantage to his
 “ Country when under a Consterna-
 “ tion at the great Progresses of *France*,
 “ was an instance of his Capacity in
 “ Affairs of State. What a loss is’t
 “ that this great Man did not live
 “ longer! He had scarce attain’d the
 “ 55th Year of his Age, when he
 “ dy’d on the 8th of *October*, in the
 “ Year 1685. no less valuable on ac-
 “ count of his Intrepidity, his Probity,
 “ his Generosity, his inviolable Faith,
 “ and all the other Qualitys which form
 “ the Man of Honor, than for his great
 “ Sense and profound Erudition. This,
 “ as a Journalist in the Republick of
 “ Letters, adds Mr. Bayle, I’m oblig’d
 “ to

“ to say of him. What cou’d I leave
“ unsaid, did I speak from my Senti-
“ ments of Gratitude, penetrated, as
“ I am, by the Favors I have receiv’d
“ from the illustrious Deceas’d?

This Year was a Year of Affliction and Bitterness to Mr. Bayle, and never was his Philosophical Constancy brought to so severe a trial. The Death of Mr. *Pærs* touch’d him sensibly, but he was still more agriev’d at the general Oppression of the Reform’d in France, and particularly at the cruel and barbarous Treatment of his Brother, who, as I hinted before, was Minister of *Carlat*. The Bishop of *Rieux* had never heard what was become of Mr. Bayle, till his *Critique Generale on the History of Calvinism* had made him known in France for one of the best Pens of the Protestant Party. This renew’d the Grief of this Prelate at his Escape from the College of *Foix*, and his return to the Reform’d Religion; and rais’d a Fury in him, which put him on finding some Pretence to be reveng’d of his Brother. The prudent and modest Conduct of this Minister deliver’d him several times from the Snares of the Bishop, which serving only to en-
rage

rage him the more, he at last resolv'd on his ruin. In the beginning of the Year 1685. by a private understanding with Mr. *Louvois*, who had long waited for an opportunity to be reveng'd on the Author of the *Critique Generale*, he sent a Troop of Archers to his House, who drag'd him out of his Study, and carry'd him to *Chateau Trompette*, where he was thrust into the dimmallest Dungeon in the place: they tormented him a thousand ways to make him change his Religion; which, added to a tender Constitution, did soon put an end to his Life. Here he crown'd that Piety which was remarkable in the whole course of his Life, by a blessed Death, admir'd even by those who had us'd all their Endeavors to make him die a Papist, and over whose utmost Crueltys he triumph'd gloriously.

Mr. *Bayle*, who tenderly lov'd his Brother, receiv'd the News of his Death with exceeding Sorrow. But his Affliction was never greater than when he understood, they had at last repeal'd the *Edict of Nantz*, which *Henry IV.* had granted to the Protestants of his Kingdom, as a Security for the free Exercise of their Religion; and which *Louis XIII.*
 5387 and

and *Louis* the XIV. had solemnly sworn to mainrain. He cou'd not without horror reflect, how the Court of *France*, after having, for above twenty Years past, employ'd all kinds of Artifice to destroy a People, whose only Crime was their having different Notions in Religion from those of the prevailing Sect, cou'd at last make use of Dragoons, Exile, Dungeons, Fire and Sword, and a thousand unheard of Crueltys, to force 'em to embrace a Worship, which they look'd on as superstitious and idolatrous. Nor was he less provok'd to find, that the *French* Authors shou'd have the front to publish, in the Face of Heaven and Earth, that no other Methods but those of Gentleness and Love had been made use of towards the Reform'd, and that the extorted Conversions were all intirely free and voluntary. In short, nothing cou'd possibly shock him more than an infinite number of Writings, the continual Burden of which was the *Immortal Glory* that *Louis the Great* had establish'd, by rooting out *Heresy*, and making *France* intirely *Catholic*.

This Complication of Iniquity put him out of all Patience, and in the excess of his Grief and Indignation he publish'd

1686.

publish'd a small Book, entitl'd, *A Character of France intirely Catholick, under the Reign of Louis the Great.* He might justly have call'd it a *Philippick Oration*: here he paints out in the strongest and livehest Colors the Behavior and Actions of the Convertists of France; he thunders some affrighting Truths in their Ears, and is not sparing of the most expressive Epithets to distinguish 'em. Yet is it far from being a mere Declamation; the whole is sustain'd by a strain of the politest Wit, and the justest Reflections. As Mr. Bayle was thoroughly satisfy'd, that the Clergy of France were the principal Authors of all the Miserys of the Reform'd, he suppos'd the Work to be written by a Refugee in England to a French Ecclesiastick, and entitl'd it, *A Letter from London to Mr. l'Abbé de — a Canon of Notre-Dame of —*. He accompany'd it with two other small pieces, still under borrow'd Characters: the first of which is a Letter from the Canon to a Refugee at London, desiring his Thoughts upon the former Letter which had bin sent him. The latter contains the Refugee's Answer to the Canon. This Answer is full of Civility, and Expre-

sions

sions of Charity. Here the Author speaks in a milder Tone, and contents himself with modestly offering his Advice, and asking a few Questions. Yet is it not wholly without its pointed Passages. Here he promises a Philosophical Commentary, compos'd in *English*, by a learned Presbyterian, on these words of the Parable, *Compel 'em to come in*; which shou'd incontestably prove the necessity of a Toleration, and utterly overthrow all St. *Austin's* Arguments to the contrary.

In effect, Mr. Bayle plainly saw, that all the Havock which the Church of *Rome* had made in the World for so many Ages past, proceeded from its Spirit of Conformity and Persecution. He resolv'd therefore to begin at the very source of the Evil; and in this Resolution he set himself heartily, and with all his force, about vanquishing a Monster, which had cover'd the Face of the Earth a thousand times over with Bloodshed and Slaughter; the forest Reproach of Human Nature, and that which renders the precious Name of *Christian* detestable in the sight of Infidels. This, my Lord, was what induc'd him to publish the Work, which he had promis'd in the small Piece I

mention'd. He gave it the following Title, *A Philosophical Commentary on these words of JESUS CHRIST, Compel 'em to come in; in which it is prov'd by several demonstrative Arguments, that nothing is more abominable than making Converts by Compulsion: with a Confutation of all the Sophisms of the Convertists in behalf of Violence, and of St. Austin's Apology for Persecution. Translated from the English of Mr. John Fox of Bruggs, by M. J. F.* Mr. Bayle feign'd it to be a Translation from the *English*, as well because the way of reasoning in it resembl'd that Depth, and strenuous Abstraction, which distinguishes the Writers of *England*, as because he wou'd not be suspected for the Author of this Work; and the better to conceal himself, he disguis'd his Stile, and made use of several, either obsolete or new-coin'd Terms.

This Work is a Master-piece of sound Reasoning; it's divided into three parts, preceded by a Discourse, in which it's fairly declar'd, that 'twas thought requisite to draw the Convertists out of their common place, and to lead 'em a new dance, by proposing Difficultys which they shou'd not even have

*

have time enough to invent Evasions for. The Style of this preliminary Discourse does nearly resemble that of *France intirely Catholick*, and may very justly too bear the Title of a *Philippick*. The Definition given in it of a *Convertist*, is almost as cruel as the Thing defin'd; all the rest is much in the same strain: But the Commentary is of a Style more becoming a Philosopher, and keeps closer to the train of reasoning. The Design of the whole Work is to shew, that Princes and Magistrates ought never to disturb any one on the mere score of Religion. Papists however are exempted, because Non-Toleration is a Doctrine which their Church has always entertain'd, and always practis'd whenever it has had Opportunity. Mr. Bayle makes out his Position with a Force and Evidence, which 'twere hard to match in any other piece of Controversy. What he says concerning the Rights of an erroneous Conscience, will seem somewhat harsh to those who are not accusom'd to reason; but they who are better skil'd in drawing Consequences, will readily agree, there's no Medium between this System and that of Persecution.

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

The first part of the Philosophical Commentary contains nine Proofs of the Falsity of that literal Sense, which Persecutors give to these Words of the Parable, *Compel 'em to come in*; and the second contains a Confutation of eight Objections, which may be made in favor of Constraint, or against that general Toleration which Mr. Bayle wou'd establish. That your Lordship may the better conceive the Design of the third part, I must observe, that to justify the Violences exercis'd on the Reform'd in France, the Archbishop of Paris got a small Book publish'd, entitl'd, *The Conformity of the Conduct of the Church of France for bringing in the Protestants, with that of the Church of Africk for bringing in the Donatists to the Catholick Church*. This Work contain'd two Letters of St. *Austin*, one written to *Vincentius* a Donatist Bishop, who had signify'd to this Father, how much he was surpriz'd to find, that having formerly bin of Opinion, that it was not lawful to employ the Authority of the Secular Arm against Hereticks, nor any other Means besides the Word of God and sound Reason, he shou'd now maintain quite the contrary; and the

the other addrest to St. *Austin* by *Boniface*, who had consulted him on the same Subject. Mr. Bayle confutes both these Letters, and several Passages in others of the same Tenor, in the third part of his *Philosophical Commentary*, which however appear'd not in some months after the other two.

During all this time Mr. Bayle fail'd 1687. not, over and above the ordinary Functions of his Charge, to continue his *Account of the Republick of Letters* regularly: But he found himself over-burden'd at last by an Undertaking, which, to be rightly discharg'd, requires a Labor and Application above the strength of any one Man. Nor is it to be doubted, that the stretch he had put his Thoughts on in the composing his *Philosophical Commentary*, had in a great measure contributed to exhaust him. He was not able to finish his *Account of the Month of March 1687.* and he advertis'd on the back of the Title Page, *That a Hamor fall'n on his Eyes, and an intermitting Fever, had oblig'd him to publish the Account of that Month imperfect.* In the mean time his Fever, accompany'd with a violent Head-ach, increas'd upon him to that

degree, that he was forc'd to give over that Work; and then he cast his Eyes on Mr. Beauval, Brother to Mr. Basnage, to continue it. Mr. Beauval undertook it, and began with the Month of September following; yet he did not think it proper to publish this Continuation, under Mr. Bayle's Title of *The Account of the Republick of Letters*, but took that of *The History of the Works of the Learned*. "I thought, says he in his Preface, that 'twas best to treat the Publick as we do Persons afflicted for the loss of a dear Friend, never bring em to the Places which recal the Remembrance, and awaken the Ideas of the Object which causes their Grief. People, continues he, had always in *The Account of the Republick of Letters*, look'd for the illustrious Author, who gave em birth: And the same Title meanly sustain'd, had only serv'd to redouble the publick Affliction in the loss of a Man inimitable. Notwithstanding all Mr. Bayle's Precautions to conceal his being the Author of the *Philosophical Commentary*, there were those it seems who ascrib'd it to him, but not so much to do him an Honor, as to find an occasion of doing him

a Prejudice with some Divines or some weak People. To put a stop to these Suspicions, he advertis'd in the *Republick of Letters* for April 1687. which was continu'd by other Hands, that some Persons ill affected to the Author of the *Critique Generale* on Mr. Maimbourg, having given themselves the liberty to ascribe the *Philosophical Commentary* to him, he was oblig'd to complain of so ill an Office, and to declare, that he shou'd look on 'em as Persecutors with regard to him, who shou'd continue to vent a Conjecture so opposite to all the Rules of fair Criticism. They may as well, adds he, ascribe all *Voiture's* Letters to *Balzac*, or those of *Baudius* to *Blondel*. Mr. *Jurieu* guiding himself by this fly Maxim, gave roundly into the noose. In a Spirit, such as his, the Principles of the *Commentary* cou'd not but meet with an extreme Abhorrence: The very Names of Gentleness and Toleration were enough, as we have observ'd, to make him stark mad. And how must a Book, wrote with so much Latitude, and an Argument carry'd to such a length, work upon him? As he fancy'd he had made a discovery, that nothing was more uneven than the

Stile,

Stile, he judg'd it cou'd not be wrote by a single Author. He concluded it must be the Work of a *Cabal*, and a *Conspiracy against the Truth*. Thus it was his Imagination, heated with the Vapors from his *Choler*, magnify'd most Objects. And as he had already began to declare War with all the Refugee Ministers, who did not creep low enough to him, or whose Sentiments were in any wise different from his own, which he call'd the *Truth*; he stuck not to pronounce, that the Authors of the *Philosophical Commentary* were a set of *French Divines*, and consequently Refugees. Accordingly he set himself to confute 'em in a Book, which he call'd, *The Rights of the two Sovereigns in matters of Religion, Conscience, and the Prince; for the Confutation of the Doctrine of Indifference to all Religions, and Universal Toleration, against a Book entitled, A Philosophical Commentary on these Words of the Parable, Compel 'em to come in*. It seem'd very surprizing, my Lord, that a Pastor who had cry'd out a thousand times upon the Violences exercis'd on his own Block, to make 'em change their Religion; who knew what infinite Miserys the Spirit of Persecution

tion had occasion'd in *France*; and who in fine had himself bin oblig'd to live an Exile, that he might enjoy the Liberty of his Conscience: it seem'd, I say, very strange, that such a one shou'd after this, turn Advocate for Non-Toleration and Persecution. I have known those who were puzzl'd, what Construction to put upon a Conduct so very odd. It proceeds, say they, from hence, that the persecuting Spirit is inseparable from the Ecclesiastical, and that he who says Priest, says Persecutor. But is not this turning a case perfectly singular into a general Maxim; and besides, is it not well known, that there have always bin Divines exemplary for their Gentleness and Moderation? They added, that the Doctrine of Ecclesiasticks, in the point of Toleration, was purely relative: that in reality they encounter this Doctrine vigorously, when their own Party is the weakest, and when themselves are in need of a Toleration; but endeavor to make it take place with all their might, as soon as Affairs come to change in their favor, and that they find themselves happily settl'd in the reigning Sect. But this Reason is too general as well as the former, and therefore

fore concludes no better. I dare say, my Lord, you take this matter much righter than these Men; and I'm much mistaken if your Judgment of it ben't thus. Nothing is so difficult as the regulating the Motions of the Heart, as getting rid of a reigning Passion, Pride, for example, Ambition, &c. This, to use the Scripture-Expression, is cutting off a right Hand, plucking out an Eye, and making a Sacrifice to Vertue, which costs infinitely dearer than parting with all the Goods of Fortune. We must not be surpriz'd then, that Mr. Jurieu, after having done homage to Religion, at the expence of all the Conveniences he enjoy'd in *France*, has notwithstanding bin unable to sacrifice those Passions of his, which Constitution and Habitude have, as it were, incorporated into the very Substance of his Soul. Accordingly we see a world of vicious Men, who notwithstanding are mighty zealous for their Religion, and who wou'd submit to the last Extremity, rather than part with the outward Profession of it: And this, because it's much easier to be a thorow Orthodox, than to regulate the Passions, and become a really Honest Man. Let's forbear then
once

once more wondring, that Mr. *Jurieu* shou'd write in favor of a Doctrine, which he ought to have had in abomination. It's enough, that the Man must gratify the secret Inclination of his Soul.

Mr. Bayle's Indisposition hinder'd not his handling his Pen now and then. He publish'd the third Part of the *Philosophical Commentary*, which contains a Refutation of St. *Austin's* two Letters, as I mention'd before; and printed a Letter of five or six Pages before this Volume, directed to his Bookseller, in which he signifies the Reasons which hinder'd his answering in Form to the *Treatise of the Rights of the two Sovereigns*; to wit, "That his Adversary had not rightly understood the state of the Question. This, says he, is evident from the Opinions with which he falsely charges me. He breaks his Heart to prove, that a Man often sins in acting by the light of his Conscience, and 'tis fairly granted in more places than one of the *Commentary*. He charges me, continues he, with introducing an Indifference for all Religions; whereas there never was a Doctrine more opposite to Indifference than that which maintains, we ought

ought constantly to follow the Dictates of our Conscience. I had almost forgot, my Lord, to take notice to you of a small Dispute which past between Mr. Bayle and Mr. Arnauld, on the following occasion. This famous Doctor, in his *Theological and Philosophical Reflections on the new Systems concerning Nature and Grace*, had with all his might attack'd this Principle of Father Malebranche, That all Pleasure is a Good, and renders actually happy in the Enjoyment. Mr. Bayle, in giving an Extract of Mr. Arnauld's Book, declar'd for the Father on this Article: Nothing, says he, is more true, or more innocent, than maintaining, that all Pleasure renders him happy who enjoys, for the time he enjoys it; and that notwithstanding, we ought to refrain those Pleasures which unite us to Bodys. But, say some, it's Virtue only, it's Grace, it's the Love of God, or rather, it's God himself, who is our Beatitude. True, as an Instrument or efficient Cause, to speak with the Philosophers; but as a formal Cause, it's Pleasure, it's the Enjoyment only which is our Felicity. Hereupon Mr. Arnauld took Mr. Bayle to task, in a Treatise which he publish'd some months after,

after, under the Title of *Advice to the Author of the History of the Republick of Letters*; in which he push'd him from point to point, according to the Rules of his Method of disputing, which was certainly that of a very able Logician. Mr. Bayle reply'd off hand in a small Work, entitl'd, *An Answer from the Author of the History of the Republick of Letters, to the Advice given him concerning what he had said about the Pleasures of Sense, in favor of P. Malebranche, &c.* He maintain'd his first Opinion, and principally endeavor'd to clear the Equivoques and Ambiguities which had overrun this matter, thro the Variety of Tropological Phrases employ'd in it; most Writers having given to the Cause the name of the Effect, and calling Pleasure or Pain, not that which is really so, but that which causes it. 883 He even went so far as to confute those who imagine, that the Pleasures of Sense are not Spiritual: he maintains, that if we consider 'em in their Physical Entity, they are purely Spiritual, and that they can't be call'd Corporeal, but in consequence of their Relation to Bodys, which is merely Arbitrary and Accidental; that Relation being founded in this, that God has

has establish'd the Action of certain Objects on the Body of Man, as the occasional Cause of his Pleasures. Mr. Arnauld wou'd not have the last Blow, he answer'd Mr. Bayle anew, in a Work entitl'd, *A Dissertation on the pretended Felicity of the Pleasures of Sense, serving for a Reply to Mr. Bayle's Answer, wherein he wou'd justify what he had advanc'd on this Head, in his Account of the Republick of Letters, for September 1685. in favor of P. Malebranche against Mr. Arnauld.* This Dissertation appearing in the Extremity of Mr. Bayle's Indisposition, he was not able to write an Answer to it; and thinking it too late when he recover'd, he just spoke a word or two of it in another of his Works, and no more.

1688. Mr. Bayle was scarce recover'd of his Illness, when he put out a fourth Part of his *Philosophical Commentary on these Words of JESUS CHRIST, Compel them to come in*: In which, among other things, he utterly destroys the only shift that his Adversarys had left, by demonstrating, that Hereticks have as good a Right to persecute as the Orthodox. Here he also treats of the Nature and Origin of Errors. In his Preface, he says (but 'tis probably

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

a blind) that certain Reasons, which he there alledges, had induced him to reply in form to the Book concerning the Rights of the two Sovereigns, and to three Chapters of a former Piece, sentid, *A true System of the Church*, in which the Author censures his Doctrine concerning Toleration, and concerning the Rights of an erroneous Conscience. He adds, that he intended to divide this Work into three Parts; the First of which shoud contain some Supplements, for effectually stopping the Mouths of Persecutors. The Second was to be an Answer to the three Chapters of the *System*, and to all the Objections, which the Author of *The Rights of the two Sovereigns* had propos'd; and the Third shoud intirely ruin his whole *System*, his Aphorisms, and all he offers directly in behalf of his own Opinions. But presently adds, that tho the Work was signify'd, he had thought fit to suppress the two last Parts, and publish only the first. The chief reason he gives is, that he had consider'd, 'twas easy to answer all the Difficultys started in the *True System of the Church*, from the Solutions he had already given in his *Philosophical Commentary*. And to an-

bro. I F swer

swer the Book of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*, it was sufficient to shew, that the Author of the *Commentary*, and the Author of the *True System*, were entirely of the same Opinion. This he makes out in five or six Pages, and then adds, that he is not the only Person concern'd in this Dispute; that the Author of the *True System* is as deeply engag'd; and in a word, is no less oblig'd to answer all the Objections propos'd against a Toleration, in the Book of *The Rights of the two Sovereigns*, than the Author of the *Commentary* himself. Mr. Bayle, who well knew that Mr. *Jurieu* was the Author of both these Works, thought the best way wou'd be to get him into this Lock: he was loth to exasperate him too far, by confuting his Arguments step by step, and according to the strict Rules of reasoning. He thought it better to fight him against himself, by shewing that he not only advanc'd in one Book what he had destroy'd in another, but even had the misfortune of contradicting himself in one and the same Work. The hurry of his Imagination depriv'd him of Memory and Judgment; and you shall see, my Lord,

Lord, more Instances of his declaiming frequently against Opinions which he himself had advanc'd. I shan't now stand to give the Contents of this fourth Part of the *Philosophical Commentary*. You have seen by the Title, that it contains several new Remarks, explaining and confirming what he had offer'd in the former Parts.

Besides, my Lord, tho' Mr. Bayle always mention'd this Work to your Lordship as his own, yet he never publickly own'd it. He always persisted in that kind of Disclaim which he made upon its first Appearance: not that he cou'd run any risk in avowing it, but that he had no mind to bring himself under an Obligation of examining all the paltry Objections which might be started in a matter so very delicate, and so capable of receiving an invidious turn from malicious Wits. His Arguments carry'd so much Conviction and Evidence with 'em, that he did not believe they cou'd ever be solidly confuted. Therefore he did not give himself the least trouble to defend 'em, when Mr. Saanen, Minister of *Utrecht*, publish'd a Work, in the year 1697. in which he endeavor'd equally to confute the *Philo-*

sophical Commentary, and the *Treatise of The Rights of the two Sovereigns*. It's pity Mr. Bayle's Design of concealing himself did not permit his giving this Book that regularity of Turn, and all those Beautys which distinguish his other Pieces. I often press'd him to give a correcter Edition of it, but he always excus'd himself upon the infinite trouble of casting it over anew. The Value your Lordship has for this Work mov'd you also to desire he wou'd revise it; and I don't doubt it had bin a pleasure to him to give you such a Mark of his Deference, if some unforeseen Affairs had not diverted his Thoughts. Yet tho' he disown'd this *Philosophical Commentary* in such a way as I observ'd, 'tis certain he never absolutely deny'd he was the Author of it; however not avowing it openly, it cou'd not be cited against him without transgressing the Rules of Equity. They who pretend to find Passages in it which contradict other parts of his Works, wou'd they but examine it closer, might easily perceive their Error. But perhaps they see it plain enough, and study only how to render their Adversary odious.

A great many Gentlemen, who exprest their Concern for Mr. Bayle's Indisposition, were overjoy'd at his Recovery. Most of the Learned sent him their Compliments; and Mr. du Tot Ferrare, a Counsellor in the Parliament of Normandy, a Person of great Merit, and a Master in the Lapidary Stile, inscrib'd the following Lines to him.

In Doctissimi BÆLII Sani-
tatem restitutam

SOTERIA.

(prohibet.)

QVÆ te mori vetat Gloria, agrotare
Omnibus carus ac utilis,
Scriptores

Criticâ face elucidasti, Censoriâ notâ emen-

Quæstor urnam movens, (dasti,

Magnum in nomen iduros

Eternitati

Pronubâ manu dicasti:

Laboribus tuis alios absumis,

Delictis nostris nusquam absumendus.

In hoc venerandus,

Quod neminem contempsisti:

*In hoc utendum,
Quod neminem formidasti:
Dignus qui veritatis annos coaques,
Quæ labantem sustentas cognatam Veritati
Libertatem.*

*Non ad unius utilitatem Regionis natus,
Ita exilium toleras,
Ut videaris optasse;
Ita cunctos eminus cominus reficis,
Ut vix credaris ullibi abesse.*

Theatrum Eruditionis circumductile

*Factus es Orbi:
Subsellia quæ dicendo fatigare non potes,
Te silentem ferre, Te quiescente quiescere
Ne spera. (posse,
Kale, vive, scribe.*

*Encœnia renovata Facundia
Faustis Litteratorum Acclamationibus
Celebrantur.*

1689. The smallest Productions of celebrated Men being reckon'd valuable, and your Lordship having besides commanded me to omit nothing that has appear'd of Mr. Bayle's, I shall here observe, that he's the Author of the Preface to *Furetiere's Dictionary*. This Abbot dying before his Work was quite printed off, and having left no Preface to it, the Bookseller pray'd Mr. Bayle

to write him one. It's a curious Piece, and was known at first sight to come from some masterly Hand.

When your Lordship commanded me to send you a true Picture of Mr. *Jurieu*, you did not, I suppose, mean, that I shou'd trouble you with an account of all his Actions: I shall therefore only observe, that setting up for an Inquisitor, he attack'd I don't know how many of the Reform'd Divines, most of 'em Refugees in *Holland*, and impeach'd 'em in several Synods as Hereticks, or Favorsers of Hereticks. Those who liv'd in other Countrys he defam'd by Libels, or by private Letters containing Accounts of 'em. For he publish'd every thing that his Spys either whisper'd or wrote to him, and alledg'd in Proof what was trusted to him in Confidence, or in the most private Conversation, by those who liv'd with him on a foot of Friendship. In short, his Fury transported him to that degree, as to fall foul on the Relations or Friends of those whom he hated, tho they never had given him the least Offence, nor ever set up for Men of Letters. Where he wanted a Pretence of charging 'em with Heresy, he endeavor'd

deavor'd to bring 'em under Suspicion with the Governments which they serv'd; and wrote to the Ministers of State, that they were Traitors or Spys of *France*. I shan't stand, my Lord, to trouble you with particular Instances of these Practices. This wou'd furnish out a large Volume: I shall only relate some Facts of a more general Nature, and which have a more immediate dependence on the thread of this Relation.

In 1682. Mr. *Jurieu* publish'd a Satyr, entitl'd, *The Spirit of Mr. Arnauld*; in which, to revenge his private Piques, he attack'd the Reputation of several great Men of the Court of *France*, and thereby expos'd the Reform'd Churches to an eminent Danger, by discovering, that he had Complices all over the Kingdom, who furnish'd him with Memoirs, and pick'd up the very Ballads to supply him. He seem'd to be in no pain, lest the resenting of such Insults shou'd hasten the projected Ruin of the Protestants; his only study was to gratify his Revenge. The Court of *England* was as little spar'd in this Satyr as that of *France*. There were violent Invectives in it against some Persons of

Note

Note there, and particularly against the Clergy of the Church of *England*; so that the Libel no sooner appear'd in *London*, but the Copys were immediately seiz'd, and the Bookseller imprison'd. There was such a noise made there about this Book, that Mr. *Jurieau* dreading it might come before the States of *Holland*, wrote Letters to some Persons in *London*, in which he solemnly protested, he was not the Author.

Two Years after he set up for a Prophet, and printed a Treatise concerning the *Accomplishment of the Prophecys, or the approaching Deliverance of the Church*, which promis'd the Restoration of the Refugees in 1683. and the Downfal of Spiritual Babylon soon after: *The Hour is at hand*, says he, *when the Nations of the Earth shall drink of the Blood of the Beast, and consume her Carcase in the Fire; when they shall strip the great Whore of all her Garments, and lay Babylon in Ashes.* The whole Kingdom of *France* was to embrace the Reformation, and become the principal Instrument of these marvellous Things: He foretold, *That Providence had destin'd her to an exceeding Elevation, that she shou'd arrive at the highest pitch of Glory, and build her Great-*
ness

ness on the Ruins of the Papal Empire; and last of all, that a thorough and total Reformation shou'd be brought about in France without the Effusion of Blood. This Book, ridiculous as it was, found Credit with many of the Refugees, seduc'd by the Reputation and decisive Airs of Mr. Jurieu; nay, some of 'em built so much upon it, that they stole back into France, there sedately to wait the Accomplishment of the Prophecy. They carry'd a spice of his Apocalyptical Spirit along with 'em, and infus'd it into others of their Brethren. In fine, these poor People fill'd their Heads so with these Chimeras and fanatic Visions, that in 1688. a great multitude of all Ages and Sexes got together in *Dauphiné*, and afterwards in the *Vivarez*, fancying themselves verily inspir'd, and falling into Trances and extraordinary Agitations. Mr. Jurieu publish'd his *Pastoral Letters* about this time, which were commonly call'd, the *Spiritual Gazette*; in which he spoke of these new Prophets, as of Persons sent from Heaven, and rank'd 'em with the Prophets of the Old Testament. He treated all as Libertines, and little better than Atheists, who wou'd not allow the Prophets of *Dauphiné*,

Dauphiné, the singing of Psalms there by Angels, and the Shepherds of Gethsemane, to be so many Realities, and that the Hand of God was in it; he arraign'd 'em publickly, and 'twas upon this occasion, that Mr. Beaurival had the misfortune of losing his Friendship, and finding himself soon after expos'd in one of his printed Libels. Some have suspected, that the Accomplishment of the Prophecies, was only a Wile to prepare the Reform'd of France for a Rebellion; but I believe they wrong Mr. Jurieu, who charge him with such an Imposture: he verily, and in good earnest imagin'd, he had bin let into the profoundest Mysterys of the Revelations. There was no cheat in this; nor but he had try'd his Skill in Politicks to bring about a Revolution in France. He had advanc'd in his *Esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, that the People are above their Kings, and publish'd some Pamphlets tending to make the Dauphin dethrone his Father: but finding this had no effect, and passionately desiring to have his Prophecys accomplish'd, he chang'd his Battery, and of a sudden began to be sweet upon Lewis XIV. When he saw his fatal Year 1689. come smoothly on,

on, and no signs of a Restoration, he cast his longing Looks towards this Prince, and wou'd fain try what was to be done by wheedling. In the Book I just mention'd, he had affirm'd that the King of *France*, out of a Fondness for false Glory, was the direct Cause of all the Miserys of the Reform'd, and acquitted *P. de la Chaise* himself, and the Archbishop of *Paris*: but in his Pastoral Letters he chang'd Stile a little, and left pressing the Remnant of the Reform'd to quit the Kingdom; his Language to the King of *France* was that of *Great Prince*, who delighted not in Blood, and whose natural Spirit was that of Clemency. Nor did he refuse *Mr. Louvois* some few Grains of Incense. Then he exhorted the Reform'd of *France* to read his *Accomplishment of the Prophecy* without ceasing, and never hope for a Re-establishment by the hand of Man or of any earthly Power, but from their own Stedfastness, and from the King's Goodness and Compassion. His Letters to the Duke of *Montauzier* in favor of his little Prophets of *Dauphiné*, were fill'd with his Majesty's Praises, whom he rank'd among the Gods of the Earth; and with Protestations

tions of Zeal and dutiful Affection for his Person. He fancy'd *Lewis XIV.* mov'd by so much Zeal for his Glory, and ravish'd to find himself stil'd *God of the Earth*, I won'd order the Duke to write him some kind things in answer. But instead of Thanks he soon found his Correspondent only laught at him, and despis'd him so far as to expose his Letters, and make him the Jest of Mankind. Upon this Mr. *Jurieu* began to change Side a second time. The War having open'd him a new Door of Hope, he laid aside his Spirit of Humiliation, and preach'd up another sort of Gospel. The Revolution in *England*, and the Confederacy of so many Powers against *France*, chang'd the whole Plan of his Prophetick System, henceforward 'twas agreed, that the Reform'd Religion shou'd triumph in that Kingdom by the way of Conquest. Mr. *Jurieu* return'd to his Political Maxims, and exhorted the Protestants of *France* to take up Arms for the defence of their Religion. He even invented a new kind of Ponton for landing an Army on the Coasts of *France*, in spite of the Militia. He flatter'd himself already with the Thoughts of preaching in the *Notre-dame*

name of *Paris*. At the same time he
 fail'd Bitterly against the King of
France, and against others in the high-
 est Stations, not only in his Pamphlets,
 but from the Pulpit also. And I ought
 not to forget that some Refugees in
Holland, infected by his Spirit, and a-
 busing the Liberty of the Press there,
 translated several Satyrical Pieces out of
English, and wrote others themselves,
 against the King of *France*, King *James*,
 and some of the principal Persons of
 both Courts.

All the sober part of the Refugees,
 not insensible of the Prejudice this might
 do 'em, equally disapprov'd the Con-
 duct of these Scriblers, and that of
 their grand Model Mr. *Jansen*. But this
 Minister had render'd himself so formi-
 dable by his manner of treating Peo-
 ple, that they durst not complain of it
 openly; how just soever their Grief
 might be. Mr. Bayle, ever a Friend to
 Moderation and Equity, suffer'd more
 this way than any body else, because
 he was oblig'd to be often at Mr. *Jan-
 sen's* House, where the Company was
 much chang'd from what it had been
 at *Sedan*; all the Conversation at pre-
 sent turning either on Prophecy, or Sa-
 tyr,

tyr, which spar'd neither Friend nor
Foe. Nothing cou'd be more opposite
to Mr. Bayle's Nature, yet he drag'd
his Chain for a long time without hav-
ing the power to break it.

Matters were at this pass, when in 1690.
the Month of April 1690. there appear'd
a Book intituled, *Important Advice to
the Refugees concerning their approaching
return into France, being a New Year's
Gift to one of 'em in 1690. by Monsieur
C. L. A. A. P. D. P.* This Work bore
date from Paris, and was wrote with
so much Heat and Vehemence, that the
Author himself call'd it a Sermon. In
the first place he rallys the Refugees,
that 1689. the Year of Accomplish-
ment, was expir'd, and yet none of those
miraculous Revolutions come to pass
which they had promis'd themselves.
He congratulated 'em on the King's fa-
vorable Dispositions, as they gave out,
for their re-establishment; and added,
that all the sober Party in the three E-
states of the Kingdom, would be over-
joy'd to see 'em. But he advls'd 'em
at the same time, to make a kind of Qua-
rantain before they set foot in France, to
purga away the bad Air they had breath'd in
the Peccs of their Banishment, and which
had

had infected 'em with two very dangerous and very loathsome Distempers; one of which was the Spirit of Satyr, the other the Republican Spirit, tending to introduce a State of Anarchy, the bane of human Society. These were the two main Heads of this Discourse. Then the Author declaims vehemently against the Satyrical Pieces I have hinted at, and spitefully alledges that they are chargeable on the whole Body of the Refugees, in regard they had not publickly disavow'd 'em. Has any of you, says he, with or without a Commission from your Body, publish'd a Syllable to shew, that these Libels are the Work of some Persons of no Consequence, whose Temerity and Passion give Offence to the Bulk of the Refugees? Nothing's omitted here, added here, to give weight to these Remarks, and to many more of the same kind, with a design of fixing an Imputation on the whole Body, which properly and originally concerns the Scriblers alone. Then he comes to speak of their Seditious Pamphlets, of this kind he reckons all such as maintain that the Prince and People are reciprocally oblig'd, by Original Contract, to the observation of certain Dutys, in such a manner, that if the Prince happens

to

to violate his part, the Subjects are absolv'd from theirs, and may transfer their Allegiance to a new Sovereign, whether the Body of the People unanimously declare the Throne vacant, or only the major and more considerable part of 'em. And here the Author attacks this Maxim with all his Might; he carries the Point of Absolute Power very high, and endeavors to shew the many Inconveniencies which must follow from the opposite Notion; imploying that sort of Argument which in the Schools is call'd *Deductio ad Absurdum*. He takes up all the Objections the Papists have ever made against the Protestants on this Subject, and on their taking up Arms in the Cause of Religion; and spares neither the Reform'd of France, nor the *Vandois* who had newly re-entred their Country by Force of Arms; nor the Presbyterians of England whom he charges with beheading Charles I. nor last of all the Clergy of the Church of England, who after declaring so highly in favor of the Prerogative, had notwithstanding made the Prince of Orange King in prejudice of their lawful Sovereign, or, which in his Opinion came to the same thing,

G

were

were willing to admit him, provided he'd be content with the Title of *Regent*. The Author concludes with several Remarks upon the last Campaign (in 1689.) tending to exalt the Glory of *France*, as well as that of the King. There was a Preface to this Work, the pretended Author of which (suppos'd to live in *London*) was as zealous a Protestant, as that of the Book appear'd to be a violent Papist. He took notice that one of his Friends had sent him this Piece, and sets forth the Reasons which had determin'd him to publish, and the manner in which he design'd to confute it. I'm inform'd, says he, and that from the Mouth of Persons lately come from *France*, and by Letters from several parts of the Kingdom, that our Enemy's make a handle of some Pamphlets publish'd in *Holland*, to stir up the People against our Brethren there, and to represent the Refugees as Monsters of Calumny, Reproach, and Aversion to *France*: That the Monks make Extracts of some of our Writings, and read 'em to the People from their Pulpits: That they descant upon 'em with their Monkish Oratory, to produce in the People, as much as in them lies, an implacable

placable Indignation against us, which even reaches to the King's Cabinet, and makes him resolve on hazarding his Crown and Kingdom, rather than restore the Protestants. I consider'd then, adds he, that 'twas fit I shou'd let our Brethren know, by publishing what was communicated to me, upon what a foot they stand, and what envenom'd Scandals they lie under; hoping that one or other of 'em might be provok'd to lead the way by a word or two in their vindication, as to these two general Points only, our Satyrical Writings, as they call 'em in France, and our Seditious, whilst I at my leisure take this Advice to pieces, and draw up a full and particular Reply to it.

This Advice to the Refugees was printed privately at Amsterdam, and made some noise upon its first coming out; but was afterwards in a manner forgot, when in the beginning of the Year 1691. Mr. Jurieu of a sudden took it in his Head to let Mr. Basnage know he look'd upon Mr. Bayle as the Author of it, and that he wou'd soon make the Seven United Provinces too hot for him. Mr. Bayle desir'd his Friend to acquaint Mr. Jurieu, he wou'd willingly set this Matter right with him, and satisfy him

*No, it was printed at the Hague, by Adr. Moeyken, a Popish Book-seller.

in all his Doubts; but he never would give him a hearing. The secret hatred he had bore Mr. Bayle of a long time, was now turn'd into Fury; and he thought this *Advice to the Refugees* gave him the fairest handle in the World to be reveng'd. So he set himself to write an Answer to the *Advice*, in which first and foremost he query'd upon the Author, and characteris'd him in such a manner, that any body cou'd see he meant Mr. Bayle, tho he durst not name him. Then he enter'd into a discussion of the Book it self, but did little more than enlarge and copy from the Plan of a Reply which was sketch'd out in the Preface; vaunting however, and strutting as he went on, no less than if it were a way expresly open'd and vouchsafed to himself alone. In the mean time he was terribly perplex'd to think, what end Mr. Bayle cou'd propose in writing this Book.

Upon a Supposition, that he was really the Author (which however was founded, as he himself owns, only upon Presumptions) it was no hard matter to see into his Design. The truth is, he was sensibly concern'd to find a world of Refugees feed themselves

selves with Chimeras and Apocalyptick Visions, which turn'd the whole Body into Ridicule, and was by so much the more to be dreaded, as the same kind of Folly had formerly been very fatal to the Protestants who fled out of the Emperor's Dominions: Nothing having done these a greater disservice than the Conduct of their *Drabirius* and *Comenius* (whom Mr. *Jurieu* rank'd with the antient Prophets) and a Book wrote in a violent Spirit by the latter, had like to have occasion'd a general Massacre of the Protestants of *Poland*, during the Invasion of *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. One might add, that Mr. *Bayle* having bin bred up in some modern Notions of the Protestants of *France* concerning the Sovereign Power of Princes, it's no wonder if he strain'd this Point so high; considering especially that in *France* the King pretends to be Absolute, nor is it safe to whisper the contrary there: So that Republican Pamphlets from Refugees, far from having any good Effect, cou'd only serve to render 'em still more odious, and throw in an unsurmountable Obstacle to their Re-admission. He remember'd too from a sad experience, how cruelly they

G 3

were

were reveng'd of his Brother for the *Critique Generale* on P. Maimbourg's History of Calvinism; and there was much more reason to fear that they wou'd make the few poor Protestants who staid behind in France, pay dearly for the Satyrs which some of their Brethren publish'd against the Court in foreign Countrys. Last of all, finding that the Papists, and particularly the Missionarys, made a malicious use of 'em for blackning the Refugees, and never left crying up the Grandeur of France, he had rak'd up all the old and new Objections of the most angry and most virulent Papists; the Glosses of their Flatterers on the Operations of the Campaign in 1689. the Scandals rais'd upon the whole Body of Refugees for the Faults of a few Scriblers, &c. in order to open a Field for a full and useful Remonstrance, and for a Reply, which might at once confound the Malice of their Persecutors, the Vanity of the Flatterers; and rescue the Refugees from the Ridiculous, on the Article of their Prophets. All these Considerations might be corroborated by other Passages of his Book and Preface, of the same tenor with those I have

have already produc'd. Upon the whole, it may be offer'd in Mr. Bayle's Defence, that after having painted out the Crueltys and Barbaritys of the Papists in the strongest Colors, he might be privileg'd to censure some few steps in the Conduct of the Protestants, which to him appear'd not according to Order. And when the worst is said, he might perhaps be tax'd of Indiscretion, but no such odious Consequences justly suggested.

This, my Lord, is the turn that any one of a genteel Spirit had given the *Advice to the Refugees*, cou'd he imagine it Mr. Bayle's. But Mr. Jarieu was incapable of so equitable a Construction, or of acting the fair part. He did not make it his business to extenuate, but rather aggravate Faults, the better to push his own Ends. He industriously toss'd his Head above all these Considerations. Not that I wou'd be understood, my Lord, as tho he thorowly perceiv'd Mr. Bayle's drift in it (still supposing him the Author) but he hellishly dissembled the sense of his Soul; for tho on other Occasions he had given ground to think him capable of such an Imposture, yet I wou'd

willingly endeavour to clear him in this. The transport of his Passion undoubtedly hinder'd his reflecting: it represented all Objects such as he desir'd to find 'em; and as his main Design was only to blacken Mr. Bayle, he encounter'd Crimes of his in every Page, which yet were hatch'd in his own Brain. Blinded moreover by Self-love, he was far from perceiving that the heavy Imputations on the Refugees in general, were almost solely pointed at himself; and that the main of the *Advice* concern'd his own Prophetick Chimera's; his Satyrs against the Court of France; his Libels for stirring up the People to Rebellion, and the *Dauphin* to dethrone his Father; his variations in the Point of Sovereign Power, and all the other Effects of his waspish violent Spirit. The *Satyrical Writings* and the *Seditious* were, as your Lordship has seen, the two principal Heads of the *Sermon*; and precisely the two Points which the Author desir'd might be publicly disavow'd. Mr. *Jarieu's* Libels were even cited to both, yet all cou'd not open his Eyes: He had indeed a suspicion that he was struck at in particular, but he pass'd slightly by this

Confide-

Consideration, which tended to extenuate, or even to cancel Mr. Bayle's pretended Crimes, and destroy the Scheme of that Charge which he was forging to render him odious.

Upon the whole, he pretended, that Mr. Bayle, not able to hear the King of France run down, and being besides scandaliz'd at the Revolution in England, and the dethroning King James, had cunningly wrote this *Advice to the Refugees*, as an Apology for both these Princes; and the better to conceal his real Sentiments, had assum'd the Character of a Papist and profest Enemy to the Reform'd. He back'd this Notion with Slanders in abundance, and publish'd his Answer under the following Title: *Considerations on a Libel against Religion, against the State, and against the Revolution of England, intitl'd, Important Advice to the Refugees, on their approaching Return into France.* In the mean time he did not believe, that any Motive of Interest had induc'd Mr. Bayle to write with so much warmth in favor of the Royal Power and Prerogative. *We must do him this Justice*, says he, *that Interest can have no part in these Flights of Loyalty; for he cou'd have no Design of ingrati-*

gratifying by this Work with the Powers whom it concern'd, because he had taken all kind of Precautions to conceal himself. Nor did he believe him quite so great an Enemy to Protestants as he seem'd in his Book. It must be own'd too, says he, that he is not that bitter Enemy to the Protestant Religion he wou'd appear to be. Thus the mere force of Truth constrain'd him to acquit Mr. Bayle on the score of Religion and Integrity, at the same time that he was using his utmost Endeavors to embroil him with the Government. He fell into much the same kind of Contradiction with regard to the *Advice*. Whenever he had Mr. Bayle in his Eye, he pronounc'd it a Masterpiece, and represented it as the most pernicious Book that ever was wrote against the Reform'd. But this high Opinion vanish'd as soon as the Author was out of his Mind. His first Judgment upon it was regulated by his Thoughts of Mr. Bayle, their reigning Object. The *Style*, he pretended, was easy, flowing, lively, the Images natural, the Metaphors happy, the Ornaments well chosen, and rightly plac'd: it carry'd a secret Charm, was full of fine Literature, and the Erudition skillfully dispens'd thro
the

the whole. All this pointed to Mr. Bayle's Character. Then, he said, *this Book comprehended in a small Compass, all that ever had bin offer'd with a Design of effectually blasting the Protestants, and exposing the Reformation by the most hideous View.* For this was likewise conducive to his end: But when he sat down to confute it, and frying over the Argument had forgot his first Draught, 'twas all of a sudden an extravagant Piece, without Principle, without Method, without Reasoning; there were but two miserable Difficultys to be clear'd in it; the rest was only Flourish, Invective, Impertinence; 'twas a pretty Possy of Polyanthea, an errand piece of Pedantry. This Unevenness and Inconsistency in the same Book, is a plain Argument, that Mr. Jurieu's Judgment proceeded intirely from Passion, and that he'd rather allow the *Advice* took in every thing that was truly grating on the Reform'd, than by undervaluing it too much, leave the least doubt of Mr. Bayle's being the Author. Yet conscious of the Weakness of his Presumptions, he still, with all his Artifices, kept within some Bounds of Moderation. But he did not long continue in this uneasy state: an occasion

sion was soon presented for giving full vent to all his Rage. Give me leave, my Lord, to mention this Occasion.

A certain *Geneva* Merchant, call'd *Goudet*, wou'd needs undertake to reconcile the Interests of all the Princes who were then at War; and wrote some Discourses by way of Dialogue to this purpose, containing the Project of a Peace. His Proposal was thus: The *Dutch* were to have the whole *East India* Trade made over to them, Treatys of Commerce settl'd with all their Neighbors, such as they themselves cou'd desire; and *France*, in favor of them, was to rase some of its most advanc'd Frontier Places. King *William* was to be own'd as rightful King of *England*, and King *James* sent to the Conquest of *Jerusalem*. The King of *France* was to keep the Principality of *Orange*, and give an Equivalent in the County of *Gez* and the Territorys adjacent, or else annex a part of the Dependencies of *Cleves* and *Fuliers* to the County of *Mears*, which the Emperor was to erect into a Dutchy, with the Title of *Nassau*, in honor of that House. He settl'd the Interest of all the other Potentates in Arms much after the same manner,

manner, and then propos'd, that the Christian Princes shou'd enter into a Confederacy for the Destruction of the Turkish Empire. The Duke of Bavaria was to be Emperor of Constantinople; King James, as I said before, was to be King of Jerusalem and Syria; Servia and Bulgaria were to fall to the Children of the Duke of Lorain, and Belgrade was to be the Capital of their new Dominions; they were to have all the Low Countrys besides, except Mons, which was to remain in the King of France's Hands; this Prince was likewise to keep the Franche Comté, Lorain, Luxembourg, and the new Conquests in Flanders: Hunningen was to be demolish'd, and Mont-Royal and Fort-Louis ras'd. As to the Protestants of France, they were to be restor'd to the same Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom as the Catholicks enjoy'd in Holland. The Sieur Goudet was so fond of this Project, that after having communicated it to his Acquaintance in Geneva, he wou'd needs know the Opinion of People in Holland upon it. Accordingly he desir'd Mr. Minutoli, a Minister and Professor of the Belles Lettres at Geneva, to send the first six Dialogues

to

to his old Acquaintance Mr. Bayle, to be communicated by him to several illustrious Persons in foreign Countrys. Mr. Minutoli at his request sent him the first Sheets in September 1690. without letting Mr. Bayle know the Author, and among others nam'd my Lord Bishop of Salisbury; the Baron de Groeben, Governor to Prince Louis, the Elector of Brandenburg's Brother; Mr. Van Beuning; Mr. Hulft, Resident of the States General at Brussels; Mr. Fremond d'Ablandcourt, and Mr. de Bauval, as proper Persons to be consulted upon this rare Project. Mr. Bayle, who was always an obliging Friend, answer'd Mr. Minutoli, that he wou'd with Pleasure acquit himself of his Commission, but declar'd his own Opinion, *That the Author of this Piece might assure himself, no Proposal of a general Peace wou'd be hearken'd to, which did not deprive the King of France of all his Acquisitions, and put it out of his Power to give his Neighbors any further Jealousy.* He afterwards communicated the Project to these Gentlemen: some sent it back unread, and others wrote him word, that it was not only meanly wrote, but besides stult with mere Visions, and Ideas of a Platonick Com-

manner,

Commonwealth; or a Christian Commonwealth, much after the Plan which the Duke of *Sully* has left us. For Mr. *Bayle*'s part he never had read it, having besides an extreme Aversion to the reading of any Manuscript Pieces, full Employment of his own; and the little or no regard which others had shewn for it, intirely diverted him. However he wrote Mr. *Minutoli* an Account of the Reception it had met with.

As ill luck wou'd have it, Mr. *Jurieu* was not nam'd among the Persons to be consulted, and Mr. *Bayle* durst not shew it him for fear he shou'd take the presenting him a Project so very short of his own as a kind of Insult. For Mr. *Bayle* had understood by Mr. *Minutoli*'s first Letter, that this did not make the Reform'd the uppermost Religion in *France*, as Mr. *Jurieu* peremptorily insisted. Notwithstanding these Discouragements, the *Sieur Goudet* had his Project printed at *Lausanne*, and the Booksellers of *Holland* soon got Copys of it. By this means it came to Mr. *Jurieu*'s Hands; and finding about the same time, that Mr. *Bayle* had receiv'd a Manuscript Copy of it some months before, he publish'd a long Discourse at the head

head of his *Considerations on the Advice to the Refugees*, intitled, *Important Advice to the Publick*, in which he pretended there was a French Cabal, extended from the North to the South of Europe, whose design was to embroil Holland and England, to confound all the Counsels of the Allies, and thereby procure France the Universal Monarchy, to the extirpation of the Protestant Religion.

This rare discovery fully open'd his Eyes to see the drift of the *Advice to the Refugees*: He then frankly declar'd, that what he had said in the *Considerations* touching the Author's Design, was only the effort of a Mind groping in a darksome Scene. It's true, adds he, there was something of dimness in the case too; and one can hardly comprehend, now it's all come out, how we shou'd miss divining the whole Mystery at the very first thought. They who are under any suspicion, continues he, cou'd not be more plausibly justify'd by their Friends, than by asking cui bono? And I own, says he, this cross Question, tho it did not, it's true, prevent my guessing at the Author of the Book, put me however to a nonplus; when Providence at last, which won't suffer such Mysteries of Iniquity

Iniquity to lie long undiscover'd, had by another unforeseen Circumstance enabled us to sound the bottom of it. Be it known then, crys he, that this Advice is not the Work of a single Person, mov'd from Principle to defend the Authority of Kings, but the Fruits of a Cabal extending from North to South, whose Center lies in Paris and in the Court of France.

Then he informs the World that there's a French Party at Geneva compos'd of Persons of all Ranks and Characters, and that this Cabal of the South communicates with such another in Holland and the North. The Design of these Gentlemen is to promote the Interest of France as much as possible; and not being in a condition to procure her Auxiliary Troops or Alliances, the Court of France makes use of their Pens to work upon the Spirits of her Enemys, and incline their hearts to grant her a Peace, and leave her in possession of all that she has rob'd her Neighbors of, and annex'd to her ancient Domains. The general means to this end was by dividing the Allies, and breaking that Confederacy which in all probability must be fatal to France at

long run. And the means of bringing this Disunion about was, first, by alienating the Minds of the Catholick Confederates, by insinuating that the War they were engag'd in cou'd only tend to the Ruin of the Church of *Rome*; and by representing Protestants in general as declar'd Enemy's of Sovereign Power, and consequently unqualify'd for their Alliance. Now such was the drift of the *important Advice to the Refugees*, which Mr. *Jurieu* was not able to penetrate at first sight. Mr. *Bayle*, Head of the Northern Cabal, had wrote it with a design of breaking the Grand Alliance, and working upon the Catholick Powers to leave the Protestants in the lurch. The next Artifice for dividing the Confederates, was by persuading 'em all in general, that 'twas a folly to keep on the War at so prodigious an expence and so horrible an effusion of Blood, when the most they cou'd expect from it at last was Peace (the Power of *France* being so much superior to that of all *Europe*; besides that they never wou'd be able to reduce it, or wrest out of its hands what it was once possess'd of) and at the same time to suggest to the Protestant Powers in particular, that is,

H

the

the *English* and *Dutch*, that they spent themselves to no purpose in this War, since they might find their Account apart, and get out of the Broil by as advantageous a Peace now as ever they shou'd, after a long and even successful War; which tended directly to make their People murmur. Now this, according to Mr. *Jarvis*, was one View of the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, especially in his Conclusion. But as this was too important a Point to be handled in so small a Work, that Party of the Cabal which manag'd in the South, had prepar'd another o' purpose to urge this common Reason, or second Means of dividing the Allies; and this was the *Dialogue upon a Project of Peace*, which I have mention'd already. Mr. *Jarvis* added, upon the credit of a Letter which was wrote to him, that the Author of the *Project* boasted how his Work had been revis'd at *Geneva*, by the Resident of *France*, and by one of the chief Synods; that it was afterwards communicated to the King, who made some Alterations in it with his own Hand: and he pretended, that after this it was sent to Mr. Bayle, Agent for the Cabal in *Holland*,

land, in order to be printed there under his Inspection. Here, my Lord, are all those great Lights which the Project of a Peace by the Sieur Goudet, had afforded Mr. Favier, and here's the ground of his endeavoring to ruin Mr. Bayle's Reputation, whom he now branded as Impious, Profane, a Man of no Honor nor Religion, an Impostor, a Traitor and Enemy to the State; in a word, one that deserv'd to be detested, and punish'd corporally. In the mean time all these Accusations were founded, as he himself own'd, not on any convincing Proof, but bare Presumptions which his Hatred and Fury had suggested, and which on this account he had reason enough to call *Violent*. I wou'd have crown'd all his Joys of this side Heaven, had the Magistrates but seconded his Fury, or cou'd he himself have had the conducting Mr. Bayle to a Scaffold. If it was *not in my Power*, says he, *to do him all the Mischief he deserv'd, at least I have made him a Mark of publick Hatred*. Wou'd any one believe, my Lord, if he did not see it in his own words, that the Heart of Man cou'd be capable of so black, so brutal a Malice as this?

That

That a grave Divine, who had given a Person of Merit, for several Years together, his Friendship and Esteem, and had always met with suitable Returns, shou'd industriously break with him, o' purpose to make himself the Instrument of his Ruin, and of delivering him over to the Civil Power? This is a Baseness so infamous, that Language has not Terms to express it. The most unciviliz'd Pagans had abhor'd such ways. I shan't dwell any longer upon an Object so hideous; and I ask your Lordship's Pardon for saying so much of him already. I shall only say, that Mr. *Jurieu* imagining the Affair of the Project of Peace furnish'd Dirt enough to blacken Mr. *Bayle*, he began to carry it somewhat milder to the *Advice to the Refugees*. Far from making it look'd on as a formidable Piece, and pernicious to the Protestant Interest, he represented it as a thing which cou'd do 'em no great harm, and might happen to do 'em service. The Author believ'd, says he, it wou'd do 'em no more harm at long run, than a hundred other Libels which have been written against 'em: That this wou'd be forgot like the rest; and that in the mean time it

did France some service, and the Protestants too by chance; because it might contribute to the breaking the Confederacy, and consequently the restoring 'em all a Peace. This Reflection was founded upon the Author of the Project's proposing Terms of Peace, not disadvantageous to the Protestant Princes. But Mr. Jarien was averse to their accepting any, till they had made the Protestant Religion the uppermost in France, and accomplish'd the rest of his Prophecys. This was the secret Motive which warp'd him against a Peace. In fine, he was so pleas'd at his discovery of this Project of Peace, that he afterwards spoke of the *Advice to the Refugees* as a Trifle; and cou'd not forbear rallying Mr. Bayle upon the noise made by him, as he pretended, ever since he had been accus'd of being the Author of it. I know those, says he, who if accus'd of being the Authors of such a Work as the *Advice to the Refugees*, wou'd only laugh at it, and not be a jot concern'd. You have already seen, my Lord, that he never represented this as a pernicious Book, but when he had Mr. Bayle in his Eye; and that he spoke of it quite otherwise when this Object of his Indignation

dignation was remov'd. He spoke of the Project of Peace much at the same rate; when he was to make his use of it against Mr. Bayle, 'twas then the Contrivance of a powerful Cabal, and corrected by the King of France's own Hand: but when he look'd at it in a confuting Spirit, all that was so terrible in his first Idea, vanish'd of a sudden. *This Work, says he, is stuff'd with Visions, and none but a Visionary is fit to confute it.*

As soon as this Book of Mr. Jurieu's appear'd, Mr. Bayle publish'd an Answer to it, intitled, *The Chimerical Cabal, or an Answer to the Fabulous Account, and the Calumnys which Mr. Jurieu has lately publish'd concerning a certain Project of Peace, and concerning a Libel intitled, Important Advice to the Refugees concerning their approaching Return into France, in his Considerations of this Libel.* Here he lets the World know what part he had in this Project of Peace, which was nothing more, as I said already, than undertaking, in complaisance to Mr. Minutoli, to communicate it to some Persons of Note who had been expressly nam'd to him. He likewise confuted all the Falshoods

and Calumnys in Mr. *Jurieu's* Narration. As to the *Advice to the Refugees*, which made the second Head in the Accusation, Mr. Bayle advertis'd, that he was preparing an Answer to it, in which he promis'd to expose Mr. *Jurieu's* groundless poor Conjectures and Suspicious, in such a manner as he hop'd wou'd fully satisfy the World. In the mean time he gave a kind of Prelude to this Answer; in which, after agreeing with Mr. *Jurieu* that the Author was a Protestant, he undertook to prove, by the strongest probable Reasons, that this Libel must have been written in *France*. Accordingly he scan'd all Mr. *Jurieu's* Reasonings and Presumptions, and shew'd that they concluded nothing absolutely. As this was not one of those Disputes which sometimes arise between Men of Letters upon Points of Opinion, but such as concern'd Life or Reputation, Mr. Bayle thought himself not oblig'd to spare his Accuser. He uncas'd him so cleverly, that the Man's Pride and Self-conceit were no longer proof against the Storm. He had immediate recourse to the Worshipful the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam*, and

dignation

and presented 'em a Petition so very singular, that I can't forbear inserting it *in terminis*.

The *Sieur Jurieu*, who has had the Honor of defending the Cause of God for so many Tears, and by so many Labors, craves Justice from your Worships against a horrible Libel written by the *Sieur Bayle*, in which the said Bayle treats him as a Fripon, a Villain, an Impostor, a Slanderer, a wicked Man; and in which he treats the Princes who have shaken off the Yoke of Popery, as flagitious Men and Murderers, and says several scandalous things against the Reformation. The *Sieur Jurieu* implores the protecting of his Innocence, and that the said Libel be prohibited, lacerated and torn in pieces; the Author punish'd, as behoves, for Injurys so atrocious; and that the said *Jurieu* be permitted to justify himself publickly against those grievous Accusations, he promising to do this with Modesty and Christian Moderation; and that the said *Sieur Bayle* be forbid to write any more Books against the said *Jurieu*.

I don't believe there was ever any thing seen more violent or more burlesque than this very Petition. To desire that an Accuser impeaching on Articles

ticles of High-Treason against God and Man, shou'd be permitted to write against the Accused, and he forbid to answer in his own defence, is surely a Case without a Precedent. A Gentleman who shou'd desire his Prince's Leave to fight a Duel with his Enemy, but bound to a Tree and with his Arms pinion'd, wou'd make a much less ridiculous Request than Mr. *Jurieu's*. But his hardiness in charging Mr. Bayle before these Magistrates, with having in his *Cabal Chimerique*, treated the Princes who shook off the Yoke of Popery as flagitious Persons, and Murderers, and with having said several scandalous things against the Reformation, was a Calumny so black and so palpable, that this alone was enough to blast the Delator's Credit. The Worshipful Burgomasters of *Rotterdam* took a method much more becoming their Wisdom and Equity. They wou'd not absolutely silence these two Professors, but they found an Expedient which tended indirectly this way, at least with regard to Mr. *Jurieu*; which was, forbidding either to publish any thing on this Article till examin'd by the Pensionary of the City, and approv'd by the Burgomasters,

masters. Mr. Bayle, who knew very well, that the Weakness of his Adversary's Accusations wou'd soon appear, when his Invectives and foul Language were ras'd, was glad that they had pitch'd upon this Expedient, and freely promis'd to obey the Order: Mr. *Jarieu* promis'd as much on his part, but he did not long sit easy under Conditions which were too hard upon a Man of his Kidney.

In the mean time no sooner was his Book against Mr. Bayle arriv'd at Geneva, but some were mightily diverted at the Romance he had grafted upon the *Sieur Gouder's* Project of Peace, a thing they knew the Resident of France had all along made a Jest of. Others took the matter in a serious way, and cry'd out upon the malicious turn he had given to the Politick Dreams of this Merchant. Several Persons of good Note complain'd loudly of his Indiscretion, as tending to set the Magistrates and People by the Ears, and to create a Jealousy of 'em among all the Protestants, and the Confederate Powers. Mr. *Minatoli* wrote him a Letter, in which he tax'd him with this: I shan't answer, says he, that our Councils,
and

and others of Character among us, toucht in a point which so nearly concerns their Honor and Conscience, won't study ways of giving you the most mortifying Proofs of their just Resentment. But this I am sure of, that I shou'd be wanting to all the Rules of Equity and Justice, if I did not clear Mr. Bayle, who purely by an Accident that I am going to tell you, is beholden to me for what you are pleas'd to make such a Crime in him. Then he gave him the whole History of the Project of Peace, which agreed to a tittle with Mr. Bayle's Account; and afterwards complain'd, that he, Mr. Jurieu, wou'd draw him into the pretended Cabal, which extended from North to South. Wou'd you, says he, in Conscience take it well, that any one upon such Presumptions against your self, shou'd, without more ado, proclaim you and your Friends in print, as a set of Men void of Honor, of Faith, and Religion? He concluded with exhorting him to make Mr. Bayle Reparation, and spare him the trouble of publishing this Letter in his Friend's Justification. Mr. Jurieu receiv'd other Letters from Geneva to the same purpose, in which his Friends intreated him not to reckon upon the Cabal, he had form'd to himself,

self, nor treat the Project of Peace as a serious matter.

But all this hinder'd not his inveighing bitterly against Mr. Bayle. He even broke his Promise to the Burgomasters of Rotterdam, and publish'd several small Pieces without their Participation under the Title of *Convictions*, &c. 'Tis true, not daring to speak of the Cabal any more, he confin'd himself to this Article, That Mr. Bayle had attempted to print a Project of Peace without the Privacy of the State, and contrary to its Interests and Intentions. Thus this dangerous Cabal, which extended from North to South, and which design'd to bring about a general Revolution in England and Holland, to sink the Confederacy, and leave France Mistress of Europe, was shrunk at last to the printing of a small Pamphlet, which by Mr. Jurieu's own confession was full of Visions and Chimeras. The whole matter was this: Mr. Jurieu's Bookseller having some notice of this Project of Peace, pray'd Mr. Bayle to get him the printing of it: Mr. Bayle told him he had no Orders to get it printed, but if ever he had, and the thing were left to his Disposal, he shou'd have the Preference.

rence. In the mean time the Author got it printed at *Lausanne*; and Mr. Bayle having recommended this Book-seller, who was a poor Refugee, to Mr. Minutoli, he promis'd to send him the Sheets as they were work'd off, which yet was never done. Here's the whole Business of the printing; which Mr. Jurieu misrepresented with all his Art, and wou'd fain have understood to be a Crime against the State. He likewise continu'd his Accusations upon the *Advice to the Refugees*, tho they were grown perfectly ridiculous, since his being undeceiv'd as to his pretended Cabal, founded on the Project of Peace. For, as your Lordship has already seen, this Project was the thing that open'd his Eyes to see the true design of the *Advice*, and discover all the Poison in it. And now he was made to understand, that the Project was a mere Chimera, and the Cabala Vision, did it not follow very evidently, that all his frightful Account of the *Advice* was groundless, and the Danger chimerical? But such a Confession had charg'd Mr. Bayle, and this was the least of Mr. Jurieu's Thoughts: So he never left twitting him with this *Advice to the Refugees*,

fugees, and that with as much Bitterness as when first he imagin'd it the Work of a cursed Cabal, and inseparably of apiece with the Project. The manner in which his Cabal had bin unhing'd, was enough to cover most other Men with Shame, and stop their Mouths for ever: But for his part, the Grief it gave him to see it tumble, did only serve to increase his Fury. He redoubl'd his Sollicitations with the Magistrates, and forgot nothing to exasperate 'em against Mr. Bayle; but they still answer'd, that they must do Justice and hear his Defence. This distracted him; and all his Libels were full of Lamentations upon the excess of their Clemency. He thought the least they cou'd do was blowing him out of Holland. When he saw the Magistrates made a mock of his Accusations, he had recourse to the Flemish Ministers, and endeavor'd to engage them of his side: but this too came to nothing. At last he fell foul of his *Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets*, formerly so much admir'd by him, and pretended this Book was a System of Libertinism and Atheism. He likewise attack'd the *Critique Generale on the History of Calvinism*, and the *Philosophical*

phical Commentary, which he now ascribed to Mr. Bayle, and not to a Club of Refugee Ministers. All the violentest things his Heart cou'd frame against these Works, and particularly the first, he set forth in a Libel, intitled, *A short Review of the Maxims of Morality and Principles of Religion, of the Author of the Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets, &c.* He distributed this Piece to the Consistory of Rotterdam, and declaim'd before 'em against Mr. Bayle with such Violence, as to declare, *he wou'd as soon be reconcil'd to the Devil as to him.* Fine Words from a Divine! The Consistory resolv'd to examine the Accusations suggested in the *Short Review*, and Mr. Bayle signify'd, that he was ready to make his Innocence appear: But Mr. *Jurieu* did not think fit to bring the matter to a hearing at that time.

Mr. Bayle had carry'd his Deference for the Magistrates Order so far as to suppress the Answer at large, which he had prepar'd to Mr. *Jurieu*, and was resolv'd to let him talk on by himself; but when he saw this Minister wou'd not give over railing in his Libels, and that some of his Enemy's made an Advantage

vantage of his Silence, he thought he was oblig'd to defend himself. Accordingly he wrote an Answer under the Name of one of his Friends, entitl'd, *The Chimera of the Rotterdam Cabal, demonstrated from the pretended Convictions which the Sieur Jurieu has publish'd against Mr. Bayle.* This Work, which was written with less warmth than the *Cabale Chimerique*, was divided into three parts. The first was a long Preface, containing a Detail of Mr. *Jurieu's* Accusations, and their Consequences; design'd to let the Publick know the state of the Question, and on which side the Victory seem'd to incline. The second was a Confutation of all Mr. *Jurieu* had advanc'd in his *Convictions*, to justify his dream of the Cabal concern'd in the Project of Peace; and concluded with that Letter of Mr. *Minutoli's* I have spoke of. And in the third part he made some general Reflections upon the *Factum*, publish'd by Mr. *Jurieu*, concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*; and ended by overthrowing all his pretended Proofs.

Thus, my Lord, you see the whole train of this Dispute, which made so much noise in its time, and is not
I yet

The Life of Mr. Bayle.

yet forgot, tho very few know the true state of it. As this is one of the points of which you desir'd the most particular Account, I cou'd not avoid Prolixity and sometimes Repetition. I shall be much shorter in what concerns the true Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*.

Some discerning Persons are of opinion, that Mr. *Pelisson* is the Author of this Book, and that he sent it to Mr. *Bayle*, who publish'd it with a Preface, containing the Plan of a solid Answer to it, as I have already observ'd. This was the Opinion of Mr. *La Bastide*, who dy'd at *London*, and had known Mr. *Pelisson* thorowly, having liv'd in strict Friendship with him for above thirty Years. He fancy'd he saw Mr. *Pelisson*'s turn of Wit, his way of Reasoning, and some of his favorite Expressions in this *Advice to the Refugees*: and even wrote a Dissertation to justify his Sentiments, which was never printed, being a Parallel between the *Advice* and Mr. *Pelisson*'s other Works. He supported his Opinion by this further Circumstance, That a second Edition of it was begun by Mr. *Pelisson*'s Bookseller at *Paris*, with the Royal Licence, in *October* 1690. three months before

Mr.

Mr. *Jarieu* thought of ascribing it to Mr. *Bayle*; but being interrupted for some time, was afterwards finish'd by his Widow in Jan. 1692. and publish'd with a second Royal Licence, the first not having pass'd thro all the requisite Forms. The last Licence ascribes the Interruption to this, that the Author affecting to conceal himself had made a difficulty of having the first Licence, which was granted in his own Name, register'd in the Books of the Company of Stationers at *Paris*; and to the Sickness and Death of the Bookseller. But one who was then upon the spot, has declar'd his Opinion, that the Suppression of this Work was in all probability occasion'd wholly by the Broils it had caus'd among the Refugees, and the hopes of seeing 'em more and more inflam'd; which indeed has a great appearance of Probability. Mr. *La Bastide* believ'd, that Mr. *Pellisson* was shy of declaring himself Author of the *Advice*, not only as he was born and bred a Protestant, and having several Relations and Friends among the Refugees, was loth to own a Book which tended to render 'em odious; but chiefly because having here and there let

fall Expressions somewhat too free and too forcible against the way of treating the Protestants in *France*, he had afterwards understood, that these Passages gave a distast to some considerable Persons, which oblig'd him to expunge 'em in the *Paris* Edition; tho' it's true at the same time, these Passages don't all amount to one Page. It's needless adding, that the Preface to the first was suppress'd in this second Edition. They gave in the room of it only a short Advice to the Reader of two or three Periods.

Others no less discerning than those we have bin speaking of, think Mr. Bayle the Author of the Preface to the Advice, but that the Book was written by Mr. Larroque (Son to the famous Minister of Roan) who chang'd his Religion soon after. He trusted the Manuscript in Mr. Bayle's hands, who got it printed, and gave it some few Touches of his own. What confirms 'em in this Opinion is, that Mr. Larroque was often heard to cite this Work as his own Production. These Gentlemen think, that this is the whole Mystery, and the true reason why Mr. Bayle's Vindications appear'd weak. He durst

durst not freely give his Opinion either of the Book or of the Author, who had always bin his Friend.

Last of all, there are a great many who believe, that Mr. Bayle was the Author of the Book as well as the Preface, and ground their Opinion on the sprightly and agreeable manner of writing and reasoning, which runs thro the whole, and which they think is above the Capacity of either of the other two Authors. But, beside that these Rules of Criticism are very uncertain, and liable to Exceptions in the present Case; it's certain Mr. Pellisson, having written to a Person at *Rotterdam*, that the King offer'd Mr. Bayle a Reward, if he wou'd own to him he was the Author, and even promis'd to keep it a Secret, he protested he was not. He aver'd the same to those who were deepest in his Confidence; so that it must be struck out of the Catalogue of his Works: at least this is a sufficient bar for not alledging it in proof against him. He had form'd the Design of writing an Answer to it; and tho the matter was extremely delicate, there's reason to think he wou'd have executed it, if Mr. Jurieu had not made so much noise.

noise. Be that as it will, had Mr. Bayle bin really Author of this Book, which I dare not affirm, this wou'd not justify Mr. *Jurieu's* Transports and Excesses. That black Spite with which he turn'd Informer against his old Friend, is a Note of Infamy which he will never be able to claw off. I have shewn, my Lord, that on a Supposition Mr. Bayle was Author of this Advice, it was capable of a favorable Construction: but since he constantly deny'd it, common Justice won't allow the citing of it with a design to blacken his Memory; none but *Jurieu's* are capable of this. Besides, the Advice had this good effect, that it oblig'd some of the best Pens among the Refugees publicly to disclaim those Libels which the Author had made a handle of, and to shew they were the Works of private Persons, without Countenance or Authority. It also gave 'em an Occasion of confuting all the other Objections.

1692.

Mr. Bayle finding Mr. *Jurieu* would not give over writing against his Books, resolv'd to make Reprisals. But that they who understood not the French Tongue might be the better able to make a Judgment of the Genius of his Adver-

Adversary, he chose to write in *Latin*. There was indeed something of Malice in this choice; for Mr. Bayle knew very well, that Mr. Jurieu was no great Master of the *Latin* Tongue, and that he wou'd be hard put to it to reply. He took his *System of the Church* for the Subject of his Criticism. This was touching Mr. Jurieu in a tender part; because this Work had pass'd for the best he had publish'd, and the only one which Mr. Nicole judg'd worth answering. Mr. Bayle took the Name of *Carus Larebonius*; and fancying there was no Title the Ear was more us'd to than that of *Janua Linguarum reſerata*, by Comenius, he intitl'd his Book, *Janua Cœlorum reſerata cunctis Religionibus, à celebri admodum viro, Domino Petro Jurieu, &c.* Here he made appear, that Mr. Jurieu, as much an Enemy as he was to Toleration, had notwithstanding, to distinguish himself by a particular System, flung open the Gates of Heaven to Jews, Pagans, and particularly to all the different Sects of Christians; and thereby he intirely ruin'd his System. Tho he cou'd write elegantly in the *Latin* Tongue, as appears by the Theses I spoke of, yet here he affected

the Stile and Method of the Scholastick Philosophers, which gave a disrelish of his Book. 'Tis a pity, for he handled his Subject with great address, and maintain'd throughout the whole Work that force of Reasoning which was so natural to him: he gave his Arguments such a degree of Evidence, that Mr. *Jurieu* never attempted to answer 'em.

Some time after Mr. *Bayle* publish'd a Work intitl'd, *The Project and Fragments of a Critical Dictionary*. The first Sheets of it were printed above a Year before, and wou'd have been publish'd soon after, if Mr. *Jurieu* had not struck in to interrupt him in his Studys. The Bookseller pressing him to go on with that Design, he drew up in some hast, and on the first Matter that Chance presented, about Twenty Articles, to give a more just Idea of his Design. He introduc'd 'em by a long Preface inscrib'd to Mr. *Du Rondel* then a Professor in the *Belles Lettres* at *Mastricht*, in which he gave him an Account of the Plan of this new Dictionary. The Design of it, says he, is to be a Collection of the Falshoods in all other Dictionaries, and a Supplement of what they

they had omitted. He propos'd, for example, under the word *SENECA*, to collect all the Falshoods that had been ever advanc'd concerning this Philosopher; so that 'twas only consulting this Article to make a right Judgment upon every thing to be met with concerning *Seneca* in any Author whatsoever: if the Matter were false, 'twas mark'd in the Collection; and if it was not on a foot of Falshood there, the Reader might reckon upon it as true. But besides the *personal* Articles which were to furnish his Dictionary, he promis'd to intermix such as are *real*, that is, such as relate not to Persons, or Places, and consequently are not to be met with in any Historical or Geographical Dictionary; he gave two of these as a Specimen, one upon the *Hippomanes*, and the other on the *Day*. He even gave ground to hope that he shou'd not confine himself within these Spaces, how wide soever they may seem; but that he wou'd make Excursions on all sorts of Authors as occasion presented. He afterwards answer'd the Objections against this Design, and shew'd that the usefulness of such a Critical Collection did hardly fall short of that of any other

other Science, not excepting even the
 Mathematicks. And this gave him oc-
 casion to remark, That tho' we can't
 condemn Historical Pyrrhonism, with
 regard to infinite Facts, yet 'tis certain
 there are a great many others which
 may be prov'd to a high degree of Cer-
 tainty. He likewise own'd he was not insensi-
 ble of the Difficultys of executing such
 a Design as it ought to be; but was still
 more sensible of his own inability for
 the Undertaking: That for this Rea-
 son he confin'd himself to the giving on-
 ly the first Draughts of such a Work,
 to consist of one Volume in *Folio*; and
 shou'd leave the care of continuing it to
 Persons better qualify'd, in case they
 shou'd think the Design improv'd with
 all requisite Alterations, not unworthy
 their Pens. But as he foresaw that the
 Sketch which he propos'd had extent
 enough to cost him a great deal of trou-
 ble; and besides was very distrustful of
 the manner in which he intended to
 carry it on, he had resolv'd to hazard
 some Fragments of it beforehand, on
 purpose to feel the Pulse of the Publick,
 and profit by the Censures of the Judi-
 cious. This Preface was follow'd by
 some

some Articles of several kinds, according to the Plan he had form'd. The Articles exhibited against Mr. Bayle, on occasion of his *Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets*, &c. having not been as yet debated in the Consistory of Rotterdam, thro Mr. Jurieu's tardiness, this latter was resolv'd at last to move for a Trial the following Year. Mr. Bayle apply'd likewise to the Consistory, and demanded Reparation of the heavy Caricatures which Mr. Jurieu had publish'd against him; and he had some hopes that this Affair would now be brought to an issue, when Mr. Jurieu obtain'd an Appeal to the Synod which was to meet soon after in Zurich. Mr. Jurieu appear'd therein in Person; but spoke not a syllable of this Process, nor would consent that the Acts of the Consistory should be laid before him, tho the Consistory had expressly order'd their Deputies so to do. This oblig'd Mr. Bayle to publish a Pamphlet against his Adversary, intitled, *New Advice to the little Author of the little Books*. For two Years past Mr. Jurieu had fir'd Heaven and Earth to exasperate the Magistrates against Mr. Bayle, with-

1693.

without the least effect from all his intriguing. The Changes which King William made in the Regency of Rotterdam in 1692. had given him mighty hopes of succeeding; but the new Magistrates declar'd, as their Predecessors had done before, that they wou'd do Justice, and hear Mr. Bayle's Defence if there were occasion. This threw Mr. Jurieu into such a Rage, that he resolv'd to hazard all rather than not have his Revenge. The Year 1693. afforded him an opportunity which he wou'd not let slip. The War began to sit heavy on France, tho she seem'd to triumph on all sides. The great Efforts she had made to keep a Superiority over her Enemys, had drain'd her of Men and Mony. If she had been vable to bring about a Peace in this Conjunction, it must have been advantageous to her Interests in all respects. She therefore aspir'd after it with an extraordinary Ardor. In this disposition, the better to conceal her Steps towards obtaining it, she dextrously engag'd some of the Neutral Powers to break it to the Allies, letting 'em understand that she was inclin'd to sacrifice a part of her Conquests

quests to restore Peace to *Europe*. The Pope had the Year before made the first Overtures to the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. *France* had so intirely refer'd her self to the Pope, that she had given him a *Carte blanche* to treat for her. But not one of the Allies wou'd hearken to his Proposition. Finding her self repuls'd on this side, she endeavour'd to draw the *United Provinces* to a Treaty. She offer'd 'em a sufficient Barrier, and an intire liberty of Commerce, assuring 'em they shou'd have the settling of all the Articles relating to Trade. But these Offers were rejected; and some Persons of great Note moving that they might enter into a Treaty on these Preliminaries, were silenc'd in such a manner, as put 'em out of a condition of carrying on any Negotiation. Mr. *Jurieu* observing these Dispositions, apply'd himself to some great Men of King *William's* Court; and reviving the Affair of the *Project of Peace*, which I have said so much of already, represented Mr. Bayle as an Emissary of *France*. He had the less difficulty in persuading 'em to what he wou'd, as these Courtiers found their Account too well in

conti-

continuing the War, to desire to see an end of it so soon. Accordingly instead of examining the Allegation, they made a Report of it to King *William*, and as- sur'd him there was a Cabal in *Holland* driving on a Peace; that Mr. Bayle was one of the principal Members of it, and had even the boldness to attempt printing a Project to this purpose drawn up by the Court of *France*. They put him in mind that the Peace in 1678. had been carry'd on by Writings of the same kind, dispers'd in *Amsterdam* and elsewhere, and forgot not to give a malicious Turn to the friendly Offices done to Mr. Bayle by several Persons of Distinction, who had no Affection for the House of *Orange*. This great Prince, who had not the leisure to examine into this Chimerical Project, and who undoubtedly knew not that this Affair had pass'd above two Years before, was alarm'd at this Notice. He order'd the Burgomasters of *Rotterdam* immediately to deprive Mr. Bayle of his Professor's Place and his Pension: and the Order was obey'd without either citing or hearing him, as they had promis'd. Thus was Innocence oppress'd by the Spite and Jealousy

lousy of a half-craz'd Divine, and by the Injustice and Partiality of some great Men, whose Merit shone with much less Lustre than their Fortunes!

Mr. *Jurieu* took care not to reveal this Mystery of Iniquity. Not daring for a long time past to speak a word more of the Cabal of *Geneva*, he confin'd himself, as we have seen, to the *Advice to the Refugees*, and wou'd insinuate that this Book had been the real Cause of Mr. *Bayle's* Disgrace: As if King *William* had so tender a regard for the Refugees, as to revenge the outrage done 'em by the Author of the *Advice*! But he was infinitely more concern'd at the Business of Peace; and believ'd, upon the Report made him, that Mr. *Bayle* did really solicit it on the part of *France*, and in concert with some Persons of the *United Provinces*, whom the King had treated with extreme Severity. Alas! Mr. *Bayle* never had such a Thought, and if he had, never was there a Man less fitted for carrying on a State-Negotiation: All who had any acquaintance with him, must do him this justice; and you, my Lord, knew him too well not to be convinc'd of it. Given up wholly to
reading,

reading, and engag'd in Metaphysical Speculations, he was utterly unacquainted with the Myfterys of State. And how is it possible he shou'd set up for a Pacificator of *Europe*? He surviv'd this Disgrace with a Philosophical Constancy, and even with too much indifference, especially with regard to his Fortune. The heaping up Wealth was the least of his Cares, because in reality he had no need of it. His Temperance and Sobriety supply'd all, so that possessing little he knew no lack. Yet not that his Condition was Indigent, very far from it. He made no bustle to get into other Business; he found himself freer now, and more at his own disposal, dismiss'd from the irksom drudgery of teaching and reading Lectures. This blessed Independence charm'd him so intirely, that he wou'd not make use of a Privilege, the Regency were willing to allow him, of teaching the Children of the Counsellors of *Rotterdam* in private, who passionately desir'd he wou'd. His Friends did all they cou'd to persuade him to it, representing that this wou'd be an authentick proof of his Innocency, and of the Malice of his Enemys; but he

he always answer'd, he was oblig'd to those very Enemys for the Repose and Tranquillity they had procur'd him; nor was he much concern'd at the rash Judgments which might be pass'd upon him. This was not the only Instance he had given of a Firmness of Mind truly Philosophical.

Mr. Bayle wou'd not give himself the trouble of confuting the *Short Review* of his *Reflections on Comets*, &c. for several reasons; as, That Mr. Jurieu had not appear'd to his Summons and Challenges to make good the Charge against him: That after having remov'd this Cause from the Consistory to the Synod, he had let four Synods pass without taking any notice of it: That his Book on Comets contain'd a satisfactory Answer to all the Delator's Exceptions: And that in fine he had thoughts of giving a new Edition of this Work, with several additional Explanations and Solutions, for quieting the Scruples of tender Minds, and silencing all the Cavils of knavish Disputants or false Thinkers. But finding in February 1694. that Mr. Jurieu had got Commissioners nam'd in the Consistory for examining this Affair anew; and fear-

ing it might be transacted in a summary way, without notice to make his Defence, he judg'd it absolutely necessary to draw up a kind of publick *Factum*, or state of the Case, as a means of Information for such of the Judges as wou'd make use of it, or to leave those without a Plea of Ignorance who wou'd not. Accordingly he publish'd a Paper intitled, *Additions to the Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets*, or an *Answer to a Libel*, intitled, *A Short Review*, &c. design'd for the Information of the Judges who are to examine this Affair. Here he expos'd the unfaithfulness of those Extracts Mr. Jurieu had made in his Libel: he intirely destroy'd all his Objections; shew'd in what manner the Ecclesiastical Judges ought to guide themselves to come at a just knowledg of the Difference; and address'd a Petition to all the Universitys of *Europe*, praying Judgment in those Points of Doctrine for which he was impeach'd by the Accuser. This Writing quash'd all the Proceedings design'd to be mov'd for at that time, and put an end to this Dispute.

The Count *de Guiscard* hearing that Mr. Bayle was out of all publick Employment,

ployment, wou'd fain have got him into *France* for the Education of the young Count his Son. He offer'd him a thousand Crowns a Year, and assur'd him he had taken such measures with the Court of *France*, that he might enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. But Mr. Bayle thank'd him for the Honor, and excus'd himself on the Obligations he was under of finishing his *Critical Dictionary*, which was already in the Press.

Mr. Bayle's Friends, who knew he wou'd never put his Name to any of his Works, either out of Modesty, or rather a Philosophical Indifference, intreated him to alter his Rule now; but never cou'd conquer his aversion to this kind of Vanity. Yet he was afterwards forc'd to comply, for Reasons I shall mention. Mr. Leers his Bookseller having pray'd the States of *Holland* to grant him a Licence for the *Critical Dictionary*, the Undertakers of *Moreri* oppos'd it, alledging this Work wou'd prejudice theirs, and was in substance the same. And as they were not ignorant that Mr. Bayle had a Reluctance to the putting his Name to it, they made use of this Incident to represent his *Dictio-*

nary as a Book without Warrant or Authority. The States wou'd not refuse Mr. Bayle a Licence, but 'twas on condition that Mr. Bayle shou'd publicly own he was the Author; so it was no longer in his power to conceal himself. I must observe, that Mr. Bayle's great Reputation gave People such an Opinion of this Undertaking, that before it was half work'd off, the Book-seller perceiv'd he had not Copys enough for those who had bespoke it. This oblig'd him to work off a double Number of the remaining, and reprint as many of the first Sheets. I shall give your Lordship another Instance, to shew how high an Idea People conceiv'd of this Dictionary. A Person of the first Quality of England, who had a great deal of Wit and Merit, let a Friend of Mr. Bayle's understand, that if this Work were dedicated to him, he wou'd make the Author a Present of a hundred and fifty Guineas. This Friend press'd him earnestly to embrace an Offer, no less honourable than advantageous to him. Several others join'd in the Request, but never cou'd prevail on him. He generally pre-
tended,

tended, that having so often ridicul'd Dedications, he wou'd never be guilty of the same Fault himself. But this was only a Colour; the true ground of his Refusal was this Lord's being then in the Ministry; and he cou'd not bring himself to complement any one in a Post at the Court of a Prince, whom he thought he had some reason to complain of. Here's a further Instance of the steadiness of his Soul, and of a perfect disinterestedness.

He publish'd his *Dictionary* about the end of 1696. after he had been 4 Years upon it. Two Reasons hinder'd his finishing it sooner; the first was, his being oblig'd to make some change in the Plan, to sute himself to the Taste of most Readers: for his original Design, as your Lordship may remember, was only to detect the Errors of former *Dictionaries*, and other Authors great and small; but having understood that a mixture of Historical wou'd be more agreeable, and better receiv'd than a tedious Collection of mere Errors, he thought it necessary to alter his Scheme; tho it render'd the greatest part of the Materials he had brought together wholly useless. Accordingly he di-

1696.

vided it into two parts: the First contain'd a succinct Narration of Facts; the Second, an ample Commentary, containing the Proofs, Explications, necessary Discussions, and Censure of the principal Errors he had remark'd. This new Design made him alter the Title to that of an *Historical and Critical Dictionary*. The next thing which hinder'd his finishing this Work sooner, was his Curiousness in avoiding all matters to be met with in *Moreri* and other *Dictionaries*, and most other matters which he foresaw wou'd be taken into those which learn'd Men were preparing in divers Parts of *Europe*. He even industriously declin'd whatever was to be met with in some new Books, which were or might be in every bodys hands, such, for example, as Mr. du Pin's *Bibliothèque of Ecclesiastical Authors*. He wou'd not put his Readers to the charge of buying the same thing twice over; tho by consulting their Interest he depriv'd himself of the greatest Fund of Matter that History furnishes, and the fairest Harvest, without any great trouble in the gathering. We may therefore easily imagine, that this *Dictionary* requir'd more time than ordinary,

ry, since the Author had affected to bring nothing into it which had been handled or digested by others. We might add a third Reason, from the change he was oblig'd to make in the choice of his Articles. By his first Scheme he shou'd have taken in the Articles *Personal* and *Real* promiscuously; but he was given to understand, that 'twere better he confin'd himself to the former; which likewise cut him out of another great parcel of his Materials. However, that the Articles of this kind which had appear'd in his Specimen might not be lost, he cast 'em at the latter end of his Work into the form of Dissertations. But when I say Mr. Bayle avoided repeating matters to be met with in other Dictionarys, as that of *Moreri*, &c. I don't mean that he did not speak of the same Persons; for 'tis certain there are a great many Articles in his Dictionary to be found in *Moreri*, but they scarce contain a Word of what *Moreri* says. Nor did this difference in the Oeconomy of the two Works lie only in the different Disposition, in the Turn, in the Manner of applying or explaining; but in the Facts and gross Materials, which were wholly

different. He even sometimes refers to *Moreri*, and contents himself with modestly glancing at the Oversights of this Author. In a word, this Dictionary of Mr. Bayle's is not a heavy Work stult with Genealogys or bare Facts; but paints out those he speaks of to the life, unfolds the Circumstances of their Lives, and the Motives of their Conduct, help'd out with Reflections which give a juster Idea, and enable us to pass a Judgment on surer grounds, and with more certainty. He treats in it of matters of Religion, Morality and Philosophy, with much Erudition; so that it's a Dictionary of an Order intirely new and singular. In the Body of each Article, he gives only a short and concise Account of the Person, but makes amends in the Commentary, or Remarks which are cast at the bottom. They are an agreeable *Miscellany*, and suited to the taste of all sorts of Readers. They contain things grave and serious for those whose aim is Instruction; and others humorous and sprightly for those who wou'd only unbend and divert themselves. But what most distinguishes this from all other Dictionaries, is that Spirit of Impartiality and Disin-

Disinterestedness which runs thro the whole. Mr. Bayle does the part of a faithful and sincere Historian, as to what concerns Hereticks and false Religions; and not only censures, as occasion presents, the Errors of Fact to their Disadvantage, but the false Reasonings also, and false Raillerys of Controversists of what Denomination soever; and shews we must not judg of Persons or Partys, by the Writings of their Enemies.

In speaking of the antient Philosophers, he endeavors to set their Opinions in the clearest Light, and to shew the strong and the weak side of 'em: And sometimes takes a Pleasure in pushing their Arguments farther perhaps than ever themselves had done. As he had observ'd, that in matters of Religion the ignorant are always the most decisive and violent, and that each Party is so fond of its own Tenets as to think 'em infallible, which has produc'd infinite Mischiefs in the World; he endeavors to work Men to a greater Moderation in their Opinions, and more becoming the Weakness of the human Understanding. 'Twas this put him upon urging the Difficultys of the *Manichæans*

cheans on the Origin of Evil, and the Permission of Sin. His Design was to make those who pronounce with so much Positiveness and Arrogance upon all points of Religion, in some degree sensible, that a ridiculous Sect can make Objections, very hard to get over or account for. He wou'd fain mortify human Reason, or at least check it in its precipitate Judgments, and its adopting Opinions without a fair Examination. The greatest part of our Theologists appear'd to him too decisive, and he was for having People speak but doubtfully on things of a doubtful nature. In this Disposition he took an ill-natur'd Pleasure in shocking their Assurance, and shewing, that some Truths which pass for evident, are obscur'd and surrounded with so many Difficultys, that 'twere more prudent in many Cases to suspend their Decisions. He also endeavor'd to inspire the same Temper with regard to Historical matters. A thorow Experience had render'd him difficult on this Head. He had discuss'd so many Facts, never call'd in question by the Body of the Learn'd, and which he had actually discover'd to be false, that he was grown suspicious of all, and gave credit to

Histo-

Historians only conditionally, and till he cou'd come at further Information. In this Disposition he inculcated to his Readers the avoiding precipitate Judgments, and not too lightly believing all they meet with in History.

This Work was receiv'd by the Publick with the same Eagerness as all his other Productions; and the best Judges did not think it at all below the Opinion conceiv'd of it. Yet it was not possible it shou'd please all the World. As soon as it appear'd in *France*, the Booksellers of *Paris*, who had a design of reprinting it, apply'd to the Chancellor for a Licence; who order'd the *Abbé Renaudot*, Author of the *Gazet*, to examine whether there was any thing in it against the State, or the Romish Religion. This Abbot made his Report, *That the very worst things said for fifty Years past against the Catholick Religion, were to be found in the several parts of this Dictionary: That the Catholick Authors were abus'd; that there were Elogys all along on the Calvinist Ministers; and whatever cou'd render the Reign of Louis the XIV. odious, with regard to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and the Complaints of the Refugees: That there was a visible*
Affect-

1697.

*Affectation in the whole, of raking up whatever was most blackning and injurious to the Persons of the late Kings of France. This Judgment was pardonable in an Abbot, and a Pensioner to the Court, and one bred up in Principles of Superstition and Slavery. Had he kept to those two Points to which the Chancellor's Order confin'd him, they might have got him to pass it; but he wou'd needs assume the Airs of a learned Man and a Critick, and be thought a rigid Casuist. On the other hand, Mr. Jurieu, who had bin criticiz'd in several places of the Dictionary, gather'd up some Extracts from Letters, written either by Bigots, or Enemy's to his Adversary; and according to his old Custom, suppress the Authors Names, and join'd 'em to the Abbé's Judgment. But finding all these Pieces together did not blacken Mr. Bayle and his Dictionary as much as he desir'd, he added Remarks of his own, in which he pour'd out all his Gall; and intitl'd the whole, *The Judgment of the Publick, and of the Abbé Renaudot in particular, on the Sieur Bayle's Critical Dictionary.* He got this Libel distributed to the Synod then sitting at Delft, and cabal'd as much as pos-*

possible to obtain a Condemnation of the *Critical Dictionary*: but the Synod had no regard to his Solicitations, nor would they so much as deliberate on the matter.

The Consistory of *Rotterdam* signifying to Mr. Bayle, that he had taken somewhat too great a liberty in his Article on *David*, and other places of his Dictionary, he promis'd to give 'em all possible Satisfaction. In the mean time he publish'd a Paper, intitul'd, *Reflections on a Pamphlet stit'd, The Judgment of the Publick, &c.* in which he advertis'd, that he was drawing up a Defence, which in the Opinion of all unprejudic'd Readers shou'd demonstrate the Unfairness of his Censors. This Apology was to be printed at the beginning, or the end of the second Edition of his *Dictionary*. He reserv'd almost every thing considerable against the pretended *Judgment of the Publick*, to this Defence; and confin'd himself to a few Observations, which tho' drawn up carelessly and in a hurry, did yet serve to expose the ridiculousness of Mr. *Jurieu's* Accusations and Extracts from his anonymous Letters. What he said to justify his Criticisms in the *Dictionary* on some of Mr.

Ju.

Jurien's Books, of which he had formerly spoke advantageously in his other Writings, was very curious and judicious. As to the *Abbé Renaudot's* Judgment, he found it so full of Mistakes, Falshoods, and Impertinences, that he declar'd, if ever he confuted it, it shou'd not be till he was certify'd, that the Author avow'd it for his, such as it was printed in *Holland*. This *Abbé*, who had no design of making this Judgment publick, and therefore had not bin over exact in drawing it up, dreaded Mr. Bayle's returning to the Charge, notwithstanding his Declaration; and in this fright apply'd to the late Mr. *De Wit*, to whom he was known, and entreated him to oblige Mr. Bayle not to write against him, promising never to meddle with him more. Mr. Bayle was glad of this occasion of shewing his Deference for Mr. *De Wit*, who had honor'd him in a particular manner with his Friendship; and freely consented to a perpetual Truce. This, my Lord, is the reason of his taking no notice of this difference in the second Edition of his *Critical Dictionary*. He even carry'd the Civility so far, as not to insert in it his *Reflections on the Judgment of the*

the Publick, &c. how necessary soever this might be. He contents himself with citing 'em, and referring his Reader thither. I must here observe, that Mr. St. Evremond, who had a particular Esteem for Mr. Bayle, and read his Dictionary with a world of Pleasure, wou'd give himself the trouble of defending him against Mr. Renaudot. But as he saw that this *Abbé's* writing was only a mere Declamation, he thought it best to answer him in that fine and delicate Irony of which he was so much a Master.

In 1699. Mr. Bayle gave a third Edition of his *Reflections on Comets*, with an Advertisement of the Reasons why the Style was all along that of a Roman Catholick, whether the Subject was Religion or Politicks; and why this Edition was not, as he had promis'd, enlarg'd with new Proofs, and new Answers to the Difficultys. He accounts for the first, by telling the occasion of his writing this Book; the design of having it printed at *Paris*, and some other Particulars mention'd before. As to the second Article, he says, that having consider'd this Book was already but too like those Rivers which make their

their Course by continual windings, he cou'd insert no more Digressions without rendring it perplext in the reading; so that he reserv'd his Additions for a new Tome, which shou'd be printed as soon as he was a little further advanc'd in his *Critical Dictionary*, on which he was now at work.

Much about this time Mr. le Clerc publish'd a Work intitl'd, *Parrhasiana*, or *Miscellaneous Reflections on Subjects of Criticism, History, Morality, and Politics*. Here he endeavor'd to solve the Difficultys of the *Manicheans*, which Mr. Bayle had laid out in his Dictionary: and to overthrow all these, he thought it sufficient to make an *Origenist* answer; adding, *That if a Man of this Form was able to put the Manicheans to silence, what might not be expected from those who reason'd infinitely better?* But before he enters into the matter, he declares, *That in answering the Objections of the Manicheans, he had no design of insinuating any thing to Mr. Bayle's prejudice; that he had not the least Suspicion of his being a favorer of their Opinions.* He added, *That he was persuaded he had not taken the Philosophical Liberty of shewing, on many occasions, what cou'd be*
said

said for and against 'em without disguise, out of any other design, than just to start Game for those whose Heads were turn'd for the Matters he treated, and not to favour those whose Reasons he urg'd: That, in fine, this was a piece of Justice Mr. Bayle had a right to demand from his Readers, and cou'd not be deny'd him.

In October of the following Year, the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and the late Queen of Prussia, then Electress of Brandenburg, made a small Tour in Holland and Flanders. You, my Lord, can't be a stranger that these illustrious Princesses are no less distinguish'd by the rare Talents of the Mind, than by their Elevation and high Rank. Their Penetration and Insight into the most profound and abstracted Sciences, has always entertain'd the wonder of those who have had the happiness to approach 'em. Nor did they disdain sometimes to discourse with Persons of Wit and Learning. When their Highnesses came to Rotterdam, they let Mr. Bayle, whose Writings they had been well acquainted with, know they shou'd be glad to see him; but it being somewhat late at Night, he excus'd himself. Some days after Mr. Basnage happening to go to the Hague,

Hayle, where these Princesses were, the Count de Dhom, who knew they had an esteem for Mr. Bayle, desired he would bring him thither. He brought him soon after, and the Count presented him to their Highnesses, who received him in a very obliging manner, and did him the honour to discourse with him on matters of great importance. Mr. Bayle was received no less kindly, and their Highnesses desired the Count of Dhom to take care of him, and would have him go with him to Delft: but Mr. Bayle, not content for making his court to the Great, found means of getting off of this journey, and took his leave at the Hague.

.0071

1702.

The second Edition of the *Critical Dictionary* was published in the beginning of 1702. in three Volumes in Folio, enlarged to near double the Bulk. Mr. Bayle distinguished the Additions with so much care, that they were visible at first sight. He struck out of the Article of *David* what had been distinguished by the Consistory of *Rotterdam*, and some Periods besides which were thought a little too free. He corrected the Errors of the first Edition, discovered either by himself, or observed to him

him by others. In this last case he express'd his Acknowledgments to those who had furnish'd him with Memoirs, and fail'd not to name 'em when he thought it proper. Never was any Man farther than he from the humour of some Authors, who can't bear being contradicted, and who fly into a rage on the least attempt to undeceive 'em. He made an Addition to the Article of *Origen*, shewing, that the Answers Mr. *Le Clerc* had furnish'd his *Origenist*, were as incapable of satisfying the *Manichean* Objections on the Origin of Evil as the other Systems. 'Twas Mr. Bayle's Opinion, that natural Light enables us not to solve these Objections, whether we go upon St. *Austin's* System, or that of *Molina* and the *Arminians*; or whether we have recourse to that of the *Socinians*: From whence he concluded, there was no way but to acquiesce in Revelation, and give over reasoning in this matter. At the end of the whole Work, he inserted four long Dissertations to justify or clear some Points censur'd in his Dictionary. The first concern'd those who were scandaliz'd at his saying, there had been Atheists and *Epicureans* who excel'd

most Idolaters in purity of Manners. After having made several Reflections on this Subject, he refers, for more ample satisfaction, to the Continuation of his *Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets*, which he had formerly promis'd. The Second shews how we ought to understand what he had advanc'd touching the Objections of the *Manicheans*. He closes it with six Propositions, which being a kind of Abstract of it, I shall here set down in his own words.

1. That it is a Property of the Gospel-Mysterys, to be compass'd with Difficultys which natural Light can't resolve.

2. That Unbelievers can't fairly draw any Advantage from this Assertion, That the Maxims of Philosophy afford no Solutions of the Difficultys they propose against the Mysterys of the Gospel.

3. That the Objections of the *Manicheans* on the Origin of Evil, and upon Predestination, ought not to be consider'd in general as bearing against Predestination; but under this particular Notion, as the Origin of Evil, the Decrees of God, &c. are some of the most inconceivable Mysterys of Christianity.

4. That

4. That it ought to satisfy every good Christian, that his Faith is founded on the Testimony of God's Word.

5. That the *Manichean* System, consider'd in it self, is absurd, indefensible, and contrary to the Ideas of Order; that it is liable to be retorted, and not able to remove the Difficultys.

6. That on the whole, no body can be scandaliz'd at giving up the Point, but must be oblig'd to look on the Doctrines of the most Orthodox Divines (the *Calvinists*) as scandalous; because all he has said on this matter, was but the natural and unavoidable Consequence of their Opinions; and that he did only set forth in a more prolix manner what they teach in a more extensive way.

The third Dissertation was design'd to shew, that what he had said of *Pyrhonism* cou'd be no way prejudicial to Religion; and the fourth confuted the Exceptions taken at some obscene Passages in his Dictionary.

The Year after Mr. Bayle publish'd a 1703.
Book intitl'd, *An Answer to some Questions from a Country Gentleman*. This was truly no more than a Collection of several scatter'd Facts, which cou'd not well be brought into his *Critical Dictionary*,

but were nevertheless curious and instructive. He signify'd that the Design of it was to be a Work of a middle nature, betwixt those which serve for the Hours of Study, and those which serve for Recreation. In this Thought he only touch'd slightly upon some matters which might have been treated with more depth; he turn'd cursorily from one Subject to another, on purpose to create Variety; and when oblig'd to explain some Points more at large, he did it in such a manner as each Chapter might represent 'em by several different Views. In the mean time he wou'd not undertake to define the Nature or Kind of such a Book; that he left to the discretion of his Reader. He only said it resembled a sort of Writings frequent in the 16th Century, under the Title of *Varia Lectiones*, or to this purpose. 'Twas a Medley of History, Criticism, polite Learning, &c. but after all was not receiv'd with the same applause as the rest of his Works; because the greatest part of his Readers did not take his Design right, or had not a sufficient fund of Literature to turn what he furnish'd 'em to the best advantage.

1704.

At last Mr. Bayle acquitted himself of

of his so often repeated Promise of giving a Defence of his *Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets*. He publish'd two Volumes on this occasion in 1704. under the Title of, *A Continuation of the Miscellaneous Reflections written to a Doctor of the Sorbon, on occasion of the Comet which appear'd in December 1680. or an Answer to the Difficultys propos'd to the Author by Mr. ****. In his *Miscellaneous Reflections* he had advanc'd among other things, *That Atheism was not worse than Pagan Idolatry*, and this was what wholly determin'd him to write a Defence. But when once engag'd to take up his Pen in justification of this Point, he thought himself oblig'd to satisfy several Difficultys started on other Passages in the Work; and at the same time judg'd, that he ought to regulate the Order of his Answers by that of the Objections, which were dispos'd according to the Chapters in his Book. He observ'd this method to the end of his first Tome; but for fear of rising to a greater bulk than at first design'd, he quitted it in the second, and confin'd himself intirely to his Parallel of Paganism and Atheism. Yet this second Volume was not sufficient to take in the

whole Dispute; so that he was oblig'd to adjourn several Objections left undiscuss'd to a third Volume.

In this Work Mr. Bayle takes some exceptions at the Learned Dr. *Cudworth*, who to account for the formation of Plants and Animals had suppos'd I don't know what kind of *Plastick Natures*, or immaterial Substances, which regularly form'd all these Beings, without any Knowledg or Idea of their own Effects. He insinuates, that they who admit this Hypothesis, do unawares destroy the most sensible Argument for the Existence of a Deity, drawn from a Contemplation of the Universe; and give the *Stratonic Philosophers* a handle to elude it by retorting the Argument: For when we urge the Existence of a God and Creator of all Things, from the Symmetry, Subordination, Beauty and Order of the several parts of the Universe, we manifestly suppose, that a Being which has no knowledg of what it does, nor of the Plan it is to fill up, nor of the End at which it shou'd drive, can produce nothing regular. The *Stratonists*, who pretend the World is the Effect of a blind Cause, are distress'd by this Argument; which yet loses all its

its force if once we suppose, there are Beings which form the most regular and beautiful Parts of the Universe, without the least knowledg of what they do. Mr. *Le Clerc*, who had given an Extract of Dr. *Cudworth's Intellectual System* in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and had honor'd the *Plastick Natures* with his own Suffrage, undertook their defence too against Mr. Bayle in the fifth Tome of this Journal. Mr. Bayle answer'd him in *The History of the Works of the Learned* for August 1704. and Mr. *Le Clerc* reply'd in the sixth Tome of his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Mr. Bayle wou'd not yield; he publish'd new Reflections on this Subject in *the History of the Works of the Learned* for December of the same Year; which oblig'd Mr. *Le Clerc* to defend his *Plastick Natures* with more Zeal than ever, and bestow 'em an Article in his 7th Tome of the *Bibliothèque Choisie*. And here he also resum'd the Dispute begun in his *Parrhasiana* on the Doctrine of the *Manicheans*, and defended his *Origenist* against Mr. Bayle's attacks in his *Critical Dictionary*.

On another hand, Mr. *Bernard*, making an Extract of the Continuation of the

the *Miscellaneous Reflections*, in his *Account of the Republick of Letters* for February and March 1705. attack'd Mr. Bayle in his advancing, that the Proof of the Existence of a Deity from general Consent was not solid; and on his Parallel of Atheism and Paganism: but propos'd his Objections with much decency, and deference for Mr. Bayle. As I am persuaded, says he, that he sincerely aims at Truth, and is besides preparing a third Volume; I'm satisfy'd, without having any need to consult him, that he won't take it ill if I propose some Difficultys, as they occur to my Thoughts; while I observe the Rules of Civility, and write with that esteem and respect I profess for his Person and Merit.

Lastly, There appear'd about this time a Work intitl'd, *The Conformity of Faith and Reason, or a Defence of Religion against the principal Difficultys scatter'd in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary*, written by Mr. Jaquelot. He's a Minister, and has a fine Tincture of Divinity, and of the Cartesian Philosophy. He writes with a deal of Fire, and in a Style intirely form'd to gain the Applauses of the People. Then he does not industriously shun occasions of signaling himself,

himself, and discovering his Merit. He prefer'd the Honor of being Chaplain to the King of Prussia, to the Advantage of Minister to the Nobility at the Hague; which gave him an opportunity of openly renouncing the Calvinist System, to embrace that of the Arminians. After giving this short Elogy on Mr. Jaquelot, permit me, my Lord, to tell you the Reason which induc'd him to write against Mr. Bayle; it's somewhat singular. He was angry at Mr. Bayle's citing his *Dissertation on the Being of a God* in the Dictionary, without giving it a higher Elogy than that of a *fine Book*. He murmur'd heavily, and made his Complaints in several places. It's true, he durst not say they were founded on his having made use of the Epithet *fine* in the Positive, instead of *very fine* in a Superlative degree, or some other sublimer Expression. He pretended the word *fine* was ironically apply'd. Mr. Bayle finding this, got one who was a Friend to both, to protest to him he had us'd the word in its natural signification; and he had actually us'd the same Epithet before in relation to a Book, of which no body cou'd suspect he spoke ironically, it being

written

written by Mr. *Basnage*. But no Pro-
 testations cou'd appease him: He re-
 solv'd to revenge the Insult, and make
 Mr. *Bayle* suffer the punishment of his
 Temerity. But, tho by the Title of
 his Book it seem'd to be wholly design'd
 against Mr. *Bayle*, 'tis certain he was
 concern'd but in a very small part of it.
 The rest was only a Repetition of what
 Mr. *Jaquelot* had said in 2 former Books.
 What concern'd Mr. *Bayle*, might be
 reduc'd to these three Heads: The Li-
 berty of Indifference; the Origin of
 Evil; and the Objections which Pyrrho-
 nism might beget upon some reveal'd
 Doctrines. I must take notice of one
 much more considerable slur in this Ti-
 tle. The words *in defence of Religion*
 naturally led to a belief, that Mr. *Bayle*
 had attack'd Religion; whereas he had
 confin'd himself to the shewing, that
 the Philosophical Objections against
 what Theology teaches concerning the
 Origin, and the Consequences of Sin,
 are so strong, that our Reason is too
 weak to solve 'em; and that therefore
 we ought to have the same regard to
 the Mystery of Predestination, as to all
 the other Gospel-Mysterys; believe on
 the Authority of God, tho we can't
 compre-

comprehend, nor reconcile 'em to the Maxims of Philosophy. I ought not to forget, that Mr. Jaquelot, notwithstanding his Resentment, declar'd, He had no design of arraigning either the Person or Heart of Mr. Bayle. I have an esteem for him, adds he, on account of his Learning, Wit, Penetration, and all those fine Talents which distinguish a Man in the Republick of Letters. I say it once again, continues he, I have no design of scanning his Intention: That I leave to the Judgment of God and his own Conscience. He declares these are Difficultys which he proposes, purely to provoke others to find out a Solution of 'em. You can't be ignorant, my Lord, that several Persons of good worth had often invited Mr. Bayle into England for the sake of his Conversation; but he always refus'd their Offers, tho advantageous, and truly becoming the Persons who propos'd 'em. In 1705, the Earl of Albemarle made him a Proposal of coming to live in his Family, till his Son, my Lord Bury, should be at a proper Age to come under his care. He was even pleas'd to write him a very obliging Letter on this Subject; but Mr. Bayle was too much in love with his Solitude to

1705.

to quit it. He thank'd his Lordship for his Goodness, and pray'd him not to wake it ill, that he did not accept of the Honour. For some time past he had been employ'd in correcting, and making a Supplement to his Dictionary, and 'twas purely to unbend in the Intervals of this painful Work, that he first undertook his *Answers to the Country Gentleman's Questions*. But the several Attacks upon him oblig'd him to alter the Scheme: the *Answers to the Country Gentleman* were no longer any more than Accessorys; his Defences became the principal Subject of this Work. He publish'd the second and third Volumes of it at the same time. In the second Volume he gave some Reflections on a Treatise *De Origine Mali*, written by Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, and printed in London in 1702. But as his Design was only to make some general Observations on the Principles of this illustrious Prelate, and besides that it was a hard matter then to get the Book, he contented himself with Examining the Extracts from it, which Mr. Bernard had given the Publick, with a great deal of Accuracy. He also on the same Volume examin'd the reason Mr. Ber-

had urg'd to support his Argument
 for the Existence of a Deity, founded on
 the general Consent of Mankind. Tho
 Mr. Bernard's Objections were brought
 into a few Pages, Mr. Bayle thought fit
 to bestow eight Sheets in an Answer to
 'em, on purpose to set this Matter in a
 full light. In the third Tome he an-
 swer'd all that concern'd him in Mr. Ja-
 quet's Book. And as the Dispute be-
 tween 'em revolv'd principally on the
 Point of the Origin of Evil, he took
 some pains in explaining and settling
 the true State of the Question, to keep
 this Minister from starting, and make
 him understand what was requisite on
 his part to prove the conformity of Faith
 and Reason. It must be prov'd, says he,
 not only that there are Principles of Phi-
 losophy favourable to our Faith, but that
 also the particular Maxims objected, are
 not quadrating with our Articles, and are
 actually repugnant to 'em in a manner which
 may be distinctly perceiv'd. This Agreen-
 ment, adds he, requires not only that your
 Hypothesis be accommodated to several
 Maxims of Philosophy, but also that
 it be not victoriously impugn'd by some
 obvious Maxims of Reason. Now it will
 be victoriously impugn'd, as long as you
 are

are forc'd to defend your self by unintelligible Distinctions, or by pleading the profoundness of the Subject. Mr. Bayle at the same time declar'd, his own Opinion was exactly that of the Reform'd, and particularly of Mr. Jureu, who in a Work intitl'd, *A Judgment of the rigid and Latitudinarian Methods of explaining Providence and Grace*, had given it up, that no Hypothesis is capable of resolving all the Difficultys which Reason may suggest on the Providence of God with regard to Sin and Evil. Mr. Bayle also answer'd to what Mr. Le Clerc had offer'd in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, as well in defence of his *Origenist*, as of his *Plastick Natures*. This Work rais'd a terrible Storm about Mr. Bayle. Tho he had treated his Adversarys with extreme Civility, and had even shut his Eyes to some sharp Touches from several of 'em, yet he cou'd not escape their Resentment and Indignation. Mr. Bernard took occasion in his Journal, to give a very smart Criticism on the 2 Volumes of his *Answer to the Country Gentleman's Questions*, yet said not a syllable in defence of the Authority of the general Consent of the People, but promis'd a Work expressly

pressly on this Subject, which has not yet seen the Light. Mr. Le Clerc cou'd not brook Mr. Bayle's presuming to stand it out against him so long, and in so sturdy a manner. He expected he shou'd solemnly own the weight of his *Origenist's* Reasons, and make him his humble acknowledgments. His Indocility shock'd him; and without mincing the matter, he accus'd him of favoring Atheism, of endeavoring the subversion of Religion, and of denying the Goodness and Holiness of God. I flatter'd my self, says he, that possibly he might be brought to himself, and to acknowledge the Goodness and Holiness of God in all his ways, after so fair a handle given him for getting out of this ugly business without involving his Reputation, by owning himself satisfy'd on the Dispute, and by thanking those who had remov'd his Difficultys, as is usual in Schools of Philosophy and Divinity. But as he takes a quite contrary course, and pretends he has not been solidly answer'd; 'tis fit we let him see we are not frightened at his Reasonings, and shew the ridiculousness of 'em without dallying any longer. Then he makes a Recapitulation of the Dispute he had hitherto

M

maintain'd

maintain'd in the Person of an *Origenist*; and after having quitted this Character, he endeavours to answer Mr. Bayle in his own Name. As the greatest Difficulty of the *Manicheans* concerns the Eternity of Punishments, Mr. Le Clerc rejected *Origen's* Opinion which denies it, and contented himself with saying, That the nature of the Punishments of another Life is not clearly conceiv'd by us; That we don't know but there may be divers kinds of acute Punishments at first, yet varying according to the heinousness of the Sins; nor whether God remitting these violent Inflictions afterwards, mayn't be content with abandoning those who had obstinately despis'd his Grace to the remorsees of their own Conscience, which shall reproach 'em with their Ingratitude, and disquiet 'em much more by Reflections on the loss of that Felicity they shall see others enjoy. If God, says he, leave the condemn'd in this state (which however I don't determine, for he is not oblig'd to execute his Threats in the utmost rigor) 'tis probable their condition may be supportable, and that they may have cause to confess the Goodness of the Creator; since instead of annihilating 'em, as their Disobedience deserv'd, he preserves their Beings, and leaves

leaves 'em in a state not unsupportable. Mr. Le Clerc deliver'd these Thoughts with a great deal of Caution. He look'd on 'em as Conjectures, and declar'd, He did not pretend to advance 'em as undoubted Evangelical Doctrines. Nor was he less offended at the small regard Mr. Bayle had shewn for his Plastick Natures, and his stiff manner of resisting all the Lights he had taken the pains to furnish him. A Conduct so untoward, did easily persuade him, that Mr. Bayle attack'd Religion thro' the sides of his Plastick Natures. At first, says he, I believ'd his want of understanding Dr. Cudworth's mind aright, might be the cause of his judging on that Hypothesis as he did: But, adds he, when I saw him unwilling to receive any Explications upon it, after I had three times successively set him right, I cou'd no longer doubt but the turn he had given this matter, was purely from a design of justifying Atheists. Then he repeated a part of what he had said before on this Subject, and continued to maintain there was no room for a Retortion from the Stratonists; since God was the Author of those Plastick Natures, and since they acted only by his Direction.

1706.

Mr. Bayle oppos'd these new Attacks of Mr. Le Clerc, in a Work intitl'd, *An Answer for Mr. Bayle to Mr. Le Clerc, upon occasion of the 3d and 13th Articles of the 9th Tome of his Bibliotheque Choisie*. As he saw Mr. Le Clerc attack'd him in Person, and did all he cou'd to render him odious, he wou'd spare him no longer, and declar'd *he was guilty of rash judging and calumny*. But because the Accusations were chiefly ground'd on the Consequences drawn from his Doctrine concerning the Origin of Evil; he gave a Summary of it under the three following Propositions.

1. Natural Light and Revelation clearly inform us there is but one Principle of all things, and that this Principle is infinitely perfect.

2. The means of reconciling the moral and physical Evil of Man with the Attributes of this one infinitely perfect Principle of all things, surpasses our Philosophical Lights; so that the Objections of the *Manicheans* leave Difficultys behind, which human Reason is not able to satisfy.

3. Notwithstanding this, we must strenuously believe what the Light of Nature and Revelation teach concern-
ing

ing the Unity and infinite Perfection of God; as by Faith, and by our Submission to the Divine Authority, we believe the Myſterys of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.

Mr. Bayle maintain'd, That this was the Doctrin of, almost all kind of Christians; and added, *He was very ſure no one, cou'd ever prove, that theſe three Propoſitions were not what he had conſtantly taught in his Works; or if he had ſeem'd to talk otherwiſe in ſome places, he had maintain'd theſe three contrary Propoſitions in others.* He afterwards confuted all Mr. Le Clerc's Charge againſt him, particularly that by which he imputes to him the maintaining that God was neither good, nor holy, from his having ſaid, That Reason comprehends not how the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God are reconcilable with Sin, and with the Miſerys of Mankind. He compar'd this Opinion with that of Mr. Le Clerc, and ſhew'd, that were each of 'em to diſpute with a *Mantchean*, he by his Principle ſhou'd be able to ſtop his Mouth, while Mr. Le Clerc muſt be quite overwhelm'd with the weight of his Objections. He likewiſe ſhew'd, that the Crime which this Divine had made

of his affirming, That no Christian System is capable of satisfying the Objections of the *Manicheans*, rebounded upon himself; since to answer 'em he had been oblig'd to quit all these Systems, and to form one intirely new, which after all was founded only on bare Conjectures. He thought not fit to say any thing farther concerning the Answer of Mr. *Le Clerc* under the name of an *Origenist*; but only shew'd, that what he had offer'd anew on that account, was a mere repetition of what he had said before; and that the Objections remain'd in their full force. In fine, he offer'd to submit this Dispute to the Decision of the Universitys of *Holland*; and advis'd him to present Extracts of the Propositions condemn'd by him in his Works; and to pray their Judgment upon this Question of Fact, *Whether the Propositions transcrib'd from Mr. Bayle's Books are a sufficient Proof of the Charge Mr. Le Clerc has drawn up against him? Mr. Le Clerc pretends they are; Mr. Bayle denys it, and further alleges, they contain nothing contrary to the Confessions of the Reform'd Churches of France and Holland.*

He

He charg'd Mr. Le Clerc with contradicting himself on occasion of the Plastick Natures. For example, Mr. Le Clerc had first maintain'd, that these Beings were only *Instruments in the Hand of God*; That God regulated all their Actions; That they were properly *instrumental Causes produc'd and apply'd by the principal Cause*: And yet he pretended that this Hypothesis of Dr. Cudworth differ'd from that of the Cartesians. But Mr. Bayle let him see, that in this sense it was tantamount to the Hypothesis of these Philosophers; for tho they suppose God the immediate Author of all the Effects of Nature, yet they never deny'd that Bodys were properly the Instruments God uses for the production of Plants and Animals. And therefore he insisted, that these Natures ought to be consider'd as active Principles executing the Plan of God, the Author of their Virtue and Existence; yet without standing in need of being continually urg'd on and directed in such a manner as Workmen are who execute the Plan, suppose of an Ingeni-
neer. Now he maintain'd, that according to this Explication, which must have been that of Dr. Cudworth himself,

since Mr. *Le Clerc* said, that this Learned Man rejected *Des Cartes's* Hypothesis, the Retortion of the *Stratonists* wou'd be just. Mr. *Le Clerc* finding himself pinch'd by this Difficulty, rectify'd his Hypothesis, and answer'd, That he never meant, the Plastick Natures were passive Instruments; which, says he, was against Dr. *Cudworth's* Opinion. He added, that they act under the direction of God; That God guides and conducts them still, tho we know nothing of the manner how; That if they act regularly of themselves, still they act under the direction of God, who interposes in what manner, and as often as he pleases; That all the difference between this, and the Operations of brute Beasts regularly performing several Actions when train'd to 'em by Men, tho they neither know what they do, nor the reason why, is, that we know nothing of the manner of God's interposing, whereas we know the manner how Men intervene with regard to the Actions of Brutes. Mr. Bayle reply'd, that a Creature destitute of all knowledge, may, without doubt, by the direction of God, perform many things with as much regularity as any intelligent

+ M

gent Being; That there was no difficulty in comprehending this: but at the same time 'twas necessary this Direction shou'd be perpetual and uninterrupted; and consequently 'twas necessary that God shou'd apply and direct the Plastick Natures by an undiscontinued Act, from the time their Operation began till such time as it was perfected: Whence it necessarily follow'd, that he interven'd so, as that the Plastick Nature was only a passive Instrument in his hands; and therefore that Dr. Cudworth cou'd not avoid the Retortion, but by supposing what the *Cartesians* suppose. He added, that the Example of Beasts strengthen'd the Difficulty; because if we rightly consider all the Services they do us, we shall find that in every Instance where their own Knowledg serves 'em not as a Guide, they must be urg'd on and directed as if they were mere Machines. He alledg'd the Authority of Mr. *Leibnitz*, who had allow'd the Retortion of the *Stratonists* just, on a supposition that the Plastick Natures were active Principles, and true efficient Causes. I don't know what Dr. Cudworth might have said to this Dispute had he been alive;

simbs

but

but to me it seems evident, that this Learned Man look'd on the Plastick Natures as Causes purely instrumental. Mr. *Wife* in his *Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism*, which is an improv'd Abridgment of Dr. *Cudworth's* System, supposes the same thing. He asserts, that the Plastick Natures are only instrumental Causes; and compares 'em, as Dr. *Cudworth* does, to passive Instruments, such as a Saw, a Hammer, the Hands of Workmen, &c. Which shews that these Gentlemens Hypothesis is much the same with that of the *Cartesians*. Had Mr. *Bayle* understood *English*, and been able to read their Works, he had made his advantage of 'em.

This Answer serv'd only to incense Mr. *Le Clerc* the more. He answer'd it in the 16th Tome of his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and complain'd in his turn of the Author's manner of treating him. He endeavor'd to make good his former Charge, and examin'd the three Propositions to which Mr. *Bayle* had reduc'd his Doctrine. He persisted in maintaining, that 'tis the business of our Reason to form just Ideas of the Goodness and Holiness of God; and that to
admit

admit any others, is in the first place denying these, and in the next place having none at all. In a word, he maintain'd, that we ought to judg of the Perfections of God by our natural Lights; and that if we once suppose, that what is unjust according to human Ideas, is not so according to the divine, we must no longer pretend to talk upon the moral Attributes or Perfections of God, since we know nothing of 'em; and that this Distinction leads directly to Irreligion and Atheism.

In answer to Mr. Bayle's Proposal of submitting their Dispute to the Judgment of the Universitys of *Holland*, he advis'd him to solicit their Approbation of his Works; and if they declar'd they found nothing in 'em contrary to their own Opinion, he wou'd publicly acknowledge his Error in denying that his Doctrine was agreeable to theirs. As to the Plastick Natures, he judg'd it unnecessary to say any more of 'em: *I look upon Mr. Bayle as too fully confuted, to touch upon that Matter again: He has found it impossible to shew, that this Opinion gives Atheists a handle for retorting one of our best Arguments against 'em. This was his principal Design, and in this*
he

he has miscarry'd. He added, that he did not believe Mr. Leibnitz wou'd upon second Thoughts find the Atheists had any ground for retorting Dr. Cudworth's Opinion, because they who thorowly examin'd it, especially after what he had said, wou'd see quite the contrary.

The Fruitfulness of Mr. Jaquelot's Pen made him soon appear again upon the Stage. He publish'd a Book intitl'd, *An Examination of Mr. Bayle's Theology, as scatter'd in his Critical Dictionary, in his Reflections on Comets, and in his Answers to the Country Gentleman; wherein the Conformity of Faith and Reason is defended against his Answers.* 'Twas easily seen by this Title, that Mr. Jaquelot would skirmish no longer, but was resolv'd to come to a general Engagement, and fight it out desperately without giving or taking Quarter. Accordingly he never fail'd levelling at his Adversary all the deadly Strokes his Wit cou'd devise. He accus'd him anew of attacking Religion, and of pretending to prove, that a Society of Atheists might subsist altogether as well as a Society of Christians. He reply'd to what Mr. Bayle had answer'd concerning the
Origin

Origin of Evil, the Permission of Sin, and the other Matters relating to these Questions; and in Mr. Le Clerc's Judgment *said enough to satisfy Mr. Bayle, had he bin willing to receive satisfaction.* Yet he did not carry the Argument quite so far as Mr. Le Clerc, and he own'd the Incomprehensibility in part. He persisted in charging Mr. Bayle with a design of destroying the Liberty of Man; and maintain'd what he had formerly advanc'd, that the Controversy about Liberty, which made such a Breach among Christians, was only a Dispute about Words. If your Lordship wou'd be pleas'd to forgive my quitting the Character of a Historian for a moment, to take up that of a Philosopher, I shou'd not stick to say, that Mr. Jaquelot had reason of his side. The Learned may dispute till they are weary; still in spite of their Controversys, they'll all have the same kind of Free-will: and 'twere really very strange they shou'd have a different kind of Liberty, or if you will, that one set of Men shou'd be in reality free, and others not, because those are bred up in the Arminian, and these in the Calvinistical School. What's very singular in the
mat-

matter is, that each Party appeals to his own Experience; as if all Men were not made the same way. Your Lordship perhaps will ask, why Mr. Jaquelot after such a Discovery shou'd abjure the Calvinistical Hypothesis to embrace that of *Arminius*? But this in all appearance proceeded from his fancying that the Calvinists were the Men who kept all this strife about Words: These will undoubtedly charge it upon the *Arminians*, and pretend that these Gentlemen, did they fairly reflect on what passes within 'em, and express themselves in a clear and distinct manner, wou'd easily perceive the Illusion they are under. Be that how it will, it can't be deny'd but the Research is very difficult, if we consider that Men of great Parts, and of like Sentiments in other matters, can't find an expedient for coming to any Agreement in this. Nor is any thing more usual than to see 'em mistake other Mens Opinions upon it; tho' perhaps this proceeds not so much from the Obscurity of the Matter, as from the Caution which is us'd on that Subject. They who have meditated the deepest upon it, keep off in loose

loose and general Expressions, or never explain themselves clearly ; the true reason why Opinions are often charg'd upon 'em, which they are very far from entertaining. This Method Mr. Bayle had taken, and he was charg'd with destroying Man's Free-will ; tho he kept exactly to the Calvinistical Hypothesis. Mr. Locke must have done the same, if it be true, as I have heard some men say, that Mr. Le Clerc cou'd not comprehend what his Opinion was in this Point. At first he imagin'd him to be an *Arminian*, and was afterwards surpriz'd to find him talk like a *Calvinist*. But I have been assur'd, there's neither ambiguity nor inconsistency in any thing he has said on this Subject ; and that a small degree of attention, free from prejudice, is sufficient to make a Man perceive that his Opinion is conformable to Mr. Bayle's System, and to that of all the greatest Philosophers ; and that he had set this Matter in a much clearer light than any one before him.

Mr. *Jarieu* made the last effort about this time, to let the World know he was still alive, and that his Fire was not quite spent. He publish'd a small Anonymous Book, intitled, *The Rotterdam*

dam Philosopher accus'd, arraign'd, and convicted; and did not forget to repeat most of what he had ever alledg'd against Mr. Bayle, without taking any notice of the Answers made him. He had formerly declar'd against Messieurs Jaquelot and Bernard with his usual violence, and accus'd 'em of Heterodoxy before the Synods: he had likewise play'd Mr. Le Clerc some scurvy pranks, and made some rude attacks upon him not long before: but when he saw how these Gentlemen began to handle Mr. Bayle, he strain'd hard to speak well of 'em. 'Tis true, he put 'em in mind of their old Disgraces, but he did it by a side Wind. He introduc'd Mr. Bayle's Friends rejecting the Testimony of these three Ministers. Mr. Jaquelot, he makes 'em say, had been piqu'd at Mr. Bayle's not speaking of his Book of the Existence of a Deity with esteem enough. Besides, he's a Person something more than suspect, and who in some differences he has had, has not acquitted himself with Honor. Mr. Bernard has been admonish'd by the Synods; Mr. Le Clerc is a Pelagian, a Socinian, convicted of Heresy and Impiety. However, these Gentlemen relish'd his Complements, much more than they resented his

his Raillerys. They seem'd to forget all that was past, and cajol'd him in their turn; which produc'd a very edifying Scene.

As Mr. Bayle had always maintain'd, that his Doctrine concerning the weakness of Human Reason, &c. was exactly that of the Reform'd Divines, and particularly of Mr. Jurieu; this Minister endeavor'd to find out a difference between 'em, but declar'd at the same time, *That the unlimited Power and Sovereignty of God over the Creatures, is that which ought to put Men to silence, especially with regard to whatever disturbs or wounds our Reason in the Methods of Providence; and that this alone destroys all the Difficultys of the Manicheans.* Yet this was the very thing Mr. Bayle always contend'd for; he shew'd that these Difficultys were not to be resolv'd by Reason; and concluded, we ought not to appeal to it in these matters, but submit intirely to Revelation. Mr. Jurieu shew'd afterwards, that St. Paul had foreseen all these Objections in his IXth Chapter to the Romans, and had given the only solid Answer to 'em, to wit, the Sovereignty of God over his Creatures, and the Incomprehensibility

of his Conduct. He concluded from that passage where the Apostle crys out, *O the Depth! &c.* that it's as plain as noon day, that the design of these words is to check the rashness of those false Learned, who would have us clear all the Difficultys by the Lights of human Reason, and by their Philosophical Maxims, or acknowledg that Reason and Divine Revelation are incompatible; as if what is above Reason, were always contrary to Reason. But it must be own'd, adds he, that this pious Exclamation of St. Paul shews the Error of those Divines who would find a way of reconciling Reason and Revelation by their Pelagian Maxims. You see, my Lord, by these last words, what a Judgment Mr. Jurieu made on the System of Messieurs Jaquelot and Le Clerc. What he said of it a little before is still stronger: I would fain know, says he, why so many considerable Divines are startled at this Doctrine, of the unlimited Power of God, and his Sovereignty over the Creatures; and chuse rather to give us Elogys on the Freedom of the Creature, and the Excellency of Liberty. This is very fine; but it's of no service on this occasion, and besides, it leads directly to Pelagianism. By shutting the door, as we imagine, against

10

the

the Impiety of the Manicheans and Pyrrhonists, we open another, or rather leave it open; for we can't, adds he, avoid owning that God is Author of this Free-will he has given to Man, and which he is master of, so as to be able to prevent the abuse of it whenever he pleases. By this Method therefore we shall never be able to stop the Mouths of the Profane.

As soon as Mr. Jaquelot saw this Book of Mr. Jurieu's, he made an Addition to his own, in which he animadverted on what he had made Mr. Bayle's Friends say of him. At the same time he attack'd Mr. Jurieu's own System, and pretend- ed it open'd a door for the terrible Con- sequences which the Manicheans drew from it. I can't conceive, says he, how a Divine, who seems to have rightly com- prehended Mr. Bayle's Difficultys against the Hypotheses of those, who take up wholly with this Answer, That we must silence our Reason, shou'd not perceive how it fol- lows from this System, that Human Reason must be constrain'd by just and necessary Consequences to own, that God is the Cause of Evil, and the Author of Sin. He afterwards declares, this was what ob- lig'd him to embrace another System; and adds, That they who won't renounce

those Hypotheses on which Mr. Bayle has founded his Difficultys, are indispensably oblig'd to shew the falsity of his Consequences and Objections, so as to satisfy the Conscience of a rational intelligent Person. Else, says he, it's pure Perverseness, and a Principle of false Honor, to continue in the profession of Doctrines from whence such horrible Consequences are deduc'd.

Mr. Le Clerc, who was in Mr. Jaquelot's Sentiments here, join'd Suffrage with him in the Extract of his Considerations on Mr. Bayle's Theology; and took this occasion of exhorting the Calvinists to renounce the Doctrine of Predestination, and imbrace the Arminian Exposition of the IX Chap. to the Romans. Those Reasons of State, says he, which formerly oblig'd some Persons to maintain the opposite Doctrine, being now ceas'd; 'twere full time to quit a Tenet from which we see there are Consequences to be drawn that are allow'd to be unanswerable. This, adds he, were doing the Reformation the greatest Honor imaginable, by shewing, that if it was capable of entertaining an Error, 'twas as capable of forsaking it.

I thought my self oblig'd, my Lord, to relate all these Passages, to shew how these

these Gentlemen, justify'd Mr. Bayle by turns, since they all allow'd his Difficultys unanswerable. Mr. Jurieu own'd this with regard to the Arminian System, and Messieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot* with regard to the Calvinistical. Why then shou'd they unite in the odious Charge against him? Were they not all, and each of 'em, as culpable as he, with regard to one another?

In the Month of *November* of this Year, Mr. Bayle publish'd a 4th Tome of his *Answer to the Country Gentleman's Questions*. It had appear'd in the beginning of Summer, if the Bookseller had not discontinu'd the Impression, to finish some other Works. The principal, and much the greatest part of this Volume, related to Mr. Bernard's Censure on the 2d Tome of the *Continuation of his Reflections on Comets*. Mr. Bayle gave a full Confutation of this Censure; and where any Episodes presented, he never rejected 'em, if they serv'd either to explain or to prove the Points in question: so that in his manner of treating this Subject, in it self abstruse and dry enough, the Reader was entertain'd with a mixture of agreeable Reasonings, Authoritys,

and Historical Reflections. Nay, he advertis'd, that no one shou'd despair, because 'twas an Answer to Mr. Bernard, of meeting with things entertaining in it; and that the whole was as positive and as free from any personal Differences, as if he never had Mr. Bernard, or any other particular Person in view. *Those little Discussions*, says he, *which no way concern the Publick, but consist only in Complaints of Authors, and their reproaches of one another, are seldom to be met with till a third or fourth Reply. A first Answer*, adds he, *is incomparably freer from this Fault; this is intirely exempt from it.* He likewise signify'd, that he had intended to give in this Volume a Confutation of Mr. Bernard's Extracts of his second and third Volume of the *Answer to the Country-Gentleman*. He added, that this Confutation had bin ready of a long time; that it turn'd upon Matters no less various than important; and that it was, in a word, such as an Author might have some impatience to see publish'd: yet that he was oblig'd to postpone it to a fifth Volume, in consideration of his Book-seller, who was concern'd in Interest to finish other Works which had bin in the

the Press for some Years past. Besides, he was busy in drawing up an Answer to Messieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot's* last Pieces, without the least regard to the state of his Health.

For above a Year past he had bin troubled with a Cough, and a De-fluxion on his Lungs, which had already touch'd those Parts, and began insensibly to waist him. The Distemper proceeded not either from his hard Labor or Study, but was hereditary in his Family; his Mother, Grandmother, and some of his Uncles and Aunts having died of it. So he look'd on it as incurable, and cou'd never be prevail'd on by his Friends to take any Physick: He always told 'em, the best Remedys for this Distemper cou'd at most serve only to spin out a languishing Life to a little more length; which he look'd on as a Misfortune rather than an Advantage. He saw ^{*}Death advancing upon him without terror, and even without uneasiness; and without either dreading or desiring, he look'd at it with a Tranquillity truly worthy of a Philosopher. Only Sadness and Melancholy, these inseparable Companions of Distempers of this kind, had in a manner made him

renounce

*NB. how
you now that

renounce all Society, and he beg'd his Friends not to take it ill. For all this he work'd without intermission. He had finish'd his last Answer to Messieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot*, in the way of Dialogue; the Partys to which were *Maximus* and *Themistes*. What concern'd Mr. *Le Clerc* was already printed, and the best part of his Reply to Mr. *Jaquelot*. He had answer'd all his Objections, and afterwards launch'd into some Reflections on certain Passages of this Minister's Book, which were to be the Conclusion of his Work. He sat to it for some part of the Night, and design'd to resume his Pen the next Morning, when his Landlady hapned to come into the Room. He talk'd to her as usual, and the next moment was found dead in his Bed, without being heard to fetch the least Sigh. 'T was the 28th of December 1706. when this great Man finish'd his Course. He made his old and faithful Friend Mr. *Baspagne* his sole Heir; a Person no less illustrious for his Vertue and Merit, than for the excellent Works with which he has enrich'd the Publick. I have bin inform'd he had left Mademoiselle *Bayle* his Niece a Legacy of 1000 Florins; but

but having heard that she died the *October* before, he dispos'd of this Sum in favor of Mr. *de Braquieres* his Cousin by the Mother's side, and the nearest Relation he had. He bequeath'd all his Books of Polite Learning and Profane History to Mr. *Paets*, Secretary to the Admiralty of *Amsterdam*, who moves with so much Glory in the footsteps of his Father. By this he wou'd express his Gratitude for the Favors he had receiv'd from this illustrious Family, and particularly from Madame *Paets*, who had left him a Legacy of two thousand Florins in 1683. These, my Lord, are Particulars I have bin assur'd are true. Tho if they be really so, Mr. *Bayle* must have made this Disposition by a Codicil or private Deed; for I am satisfy'd from very good hands, that Mr. *Basnage* was left universal Heir by his Will made in the presence of a Publick Notary.

You, my Lord, don't, I suppose, expect I shou'd here attempt to draw a Picture of Mr. *Bayle*. You knew him too well to need any further Informations on this Head. I shall therefore only point at some of the principal Lineaments in his Character, which I'm persuaded

suaded your Lordship will readily acknowledge. He was truly a Philosopher in his manners, free from all haughtiness and ambition, never preferring himself before others; sober to frugality, and even to insensibility. Indifferent to all kinds of Pleasure except those of the Mind, he seem'd to be above the reach of the Passions. The Honesty and Uprightness of his Soul gain'd him the Esteem and Affections of all who knew him. He was a faithful and obliging Friend, sparing no pains nor trouble whenever there was an opportunity of doing Service. His Conversation was chearful, agreeable and instructive. His way of writing render'd him the delight of men of Wit. He was esteem'd far and near, but particularly in *France*, where notwithstanding the difference of Religion, his Death was sensibly regretted. The illustrious Body, which with so much Glory imploy themselves in the *Journal des Savans*, have publicly express'd their sorrow for Mr. Bayle, when speaking of his Death they declare, *that the Year cou'd not end with a more sensible loss to the Republick of Letters.* He had made considerable Common-place Books in his Youth; but from the time he began

began to write, he trusted to his Memory, or rather imploy'd the Materials as they presented. But tho his Memory, always happy and faithful, deliver'd him *à propos* whatever he had committed to it, the minute he made the Demand; yet he always took care to verify his Citations to the greatest nicety. He examin'd Historical Facts with an Exactness which border'd on Scrupulosity, and seem'd to be born for retrieving the Faults which others had made, or the Errors they had too lightly suffer'd to pass. Most Readers think themselves so little interested in Historical Relations, that they seldom or never will be at the trouble of discussing 'em. They take 'em for granted, and repeat 'em upon the Credit of him who has examin'd 'em, or who vends 'em with an assurance. Mr. Bayle wou'd never be impos'd on by the Authority of the most celebrated Authors. He scan'd those Facts which have bin look'd on as the most undoubted, and never was discourag'd by the Difficultys which arise in discussing the minutest Circumstances. He had stock'd himself with the Books of all Partys, in order to the discovery of the Truth, by confronting their

their Relations, ever different, and very often opposite. Never did any man make a greater use of this kind of Writings: He rais'd 'em out of the Dust where they had lain buried for Ages past, and made 'em subservient to the coming at the Truth of several Facts never contested before, and which it was but just they shou'd. Equally void of a Spirit of Interest and Passion, he always pay'd homage to the Truth, in whatever Party he met with it. He every where applauded Vertue, and gave no quarter to Vice.

His Penetration represented the deepest and most abstruse Matters to him at the first sight, and by all their different Views; unfolded all their Difficultys, and discover'd their remotest Consequences. 'Twas this rendred him so cautious in his Judgments. He perceiv'd things which others cou'd not spy; and finding no Solutions for the Objections he discover'd, he left the Matters undetermin'd. This Reserve brought him under a charge of Pyrrhonism. But if hereby be meant, that he wou'd not allow Evidence to be the Character of Truth, 'tis the most ill-grounded Accusation in nature. If it only means
that

that he doubted of things which appear'd doubtful, and in a word always form'd his Judgments on the report of his Ideas; this is the greatest Honor can be done him. This kind of Pyrrhonism is the perfection of the Human Understanding. If he affirm'd not so often as others, 'twas because he perceiv'd the Difficultys better. Positiveness and Credulity are the Daughters of Ignorance; and we see Men always less credulous and less decisive in proportion to their attainments in Knowledg. They are also more equitable and more modest. 'Tis with a design of inspiring these Vertues, that Mr. Bayle takes so many occasions of shewing the narrow Limits of our Reason, and the little Extent of Human Knowledg. He propos'd the same design, when he shews that Opinions accounted indubitable heretofore, are attended with real Difficultys; and others which have pass'd for ridiculous, are to be supported by very probable Reasons. But the nature of most Men is such, that they don't like being undeceiv'd. They look on their Prejudices as a part of themselves; and 'tis with grief and reluctance they see Opinions torn from 'em, which they have adopted

of

of old, and which they consider as some of their finest Feathers. For this reason Mr. Bayle had done well, not to have carry'd his Talent of forming Difficultys and Doubts to such a length. While he endeavors to humble the Pride of Reason, he does not manage the Publick enough. He has given a swing to his Imagination, and has often taken Libertys, which may be properly call'd Debauches of the Understanding.

He has protested more than once to his intimate Friends, that he believ'd a God, a Being infinitely Perfect; and always spoke of the other Mysterys of Religion just as the Reform'd do. His Adversarys, 'tis true, endeavor'd to render him suspected on this Head: but he let 'em see, that he said no more at bottom, than what the Divines of his Communion constantly teach. This they cou'd not disown; and therefore were driven to this poor shift, that there was this difference between him and them; They talk'd seriously, and he only in raillery and ridicule. But was not this searching into his Heart, and sounding his Intentions? I must add, that whatever free Thoughts might have drop'd from him, were at first only

only cursorily glanc'd at, or else consisted in Speculations so abstracted, that not one Reader of a hundred was capable of comprehending 'em. If he afterwards enlarg'd upon 'em, he was forc'd to it by his Enemys, who put him upon defending himself. Farther still, they have drawn Consequences from his Principles, which he constantly deny'd; and ascrib'd pernicious Designs to him, which he always disown'd. If there be any Poison in his Works, 'tis they have prest it out, 'tis they have rendred it mortal. So that Mr. Bayle's Reasonings are dangerous only in their Reflections upon 'em; there all their Venom is extracted, and one must have recourse to his Defences for an Antidote.

He disputed without heat, and never assum'd a Magisterial Air; nor was known to make his Adversarys feel the Ascendant he had over 'em. If he hapned now and then to give 'em a wipe, 'twas more in a pleasant than in a morose way. His Railleys were fine, his Reproaches moderate, and his Censures gentle and good natur'd. And therefore People were the more surpriz'd to find him in his last Disputes depart

from
to

from that Temper and Moderation which were so natural to him. But he was somewhat sour'd, and piqu'd at his Enemies striking rather at his Person than his Doctrines, and industriously endeavoring to draw the publick Indignation upon him. He believ'd they design'd no less than his Ruin, and this he thought gave him a right of repelling Force by Force. The manner in which some of 'em have treated him since his Death, too plainly shews that their falling so violently upon him was not so much out of Zeal for the Truth, as to gratify their Spite. They are furiously set against him still, and take all occasions of exposing him, as if they design'd their Resentments shou'd never die. But all their Invectives and affected Scorn rebound only on themselves. Humanity is startled at the cruel Treatment; and whoever has the least spark of Honor, must needs be scandaliz'd to see 'em spurn the Dead, and give a thousand Stabs to one who is now no more than a handful of Dust. The implacable Resentments of Divines have given rise to the Proverb, *Odium Theologicum*. Yet we were willing to believe this was peculiar to some Divines of

of a lower Order, such as those whom Mr. *Le Clerc* treats with the stile of *Populace* and *Canaille*. The more eminent seem'd to be excepted out of the Rule, and rank'd in a superior Order. But what will become of this Distinction now, when the higher sort invade the Birthright of the rest, and stretch it even farther than they? The Jest of it is, that these very Men recommend Moderation and Charity in all their Works; and if we'l believe themselves, are perfectly eaten up with Zeal for the House of God. Yet the Christian Religion never inspir'd a Conduct like this, and 'tis dishonoring the Heavenly Doctrine to make it a cloke to so shameful a Practice.

However, I don't pretend these Gentlemen were oblig'd by Mr. *Bayle's* Death not to write against him at all; tho perhaps they had better have let it alone: But this is not the Point. I only mean, that in their last Answers they ought to have confin'd themselves to a fair Discussion of his Reasonings, and not have larded 'em with railing abusive Language, which at best can only serve to shew, that they who are so far transported by their Resentments,

O

ments, are next door to being beside themselves.

Neither is the Question here what Mr. Bayle's Opinions were, but what strange ways have bin taken to confute 'em. Instead of answering his Arguments according to the Rules of right Reasoning, his Adversarys run upon personal Demurs against him, which no body is at all concern'd in. If Mr. Bayle has had underhand Intentions and dangerous Designs, this is a personal Charge against himself, and not the Cause of the Publick, or of any of his Friends. They who only search after Truth, will trouble themselves very little with examining, whether these Imputations be just and well grounded: this is not their business; they'll still recur to the general Question, and look upon any thing else as wholly foreign to the Matter. Besides, these Gentlemen cou'd not be ignorant that almost all the Catholick, and the greatest part of the Protestant Divines, openly maintain the same Doctrines concerning Predestination, Free-will, &c. And why then shou'd they fall upon Mr. Bayle alone, and take him singly to task? Must not this have proceeded

proceeded purely from a fear of the Magistrate, hindring their attacking directly the Calvinist Divines? They were overjoy'd at an occasion of pelting 'em securely, and by a side Wind, in the Person of Mr. Bayle. This he saw, and no doubt laugh'd in his sleeve at the profound silence of these Divines on this occasion. He well knew that if they enter'd into the Dispute, they must adjudg him the Cause against Messieurs Le Clerc and Jaquelot. Your Lordship has seen that Mr. Jurieu condemn'd both their Systems; Mr. La Placette did the same, tho in a very modest manner. He declar'd, that these Gentlemen *had built upon Foundations, which to him appear'd not at all solid, nor generally receiv'd: so that 'twere to be wish'd some other Person wou'd enter the Lists, and examine the Manichean Objections, by comparing 'em, upon Principles clearer and less contested.* As much as to say, he look'd on the Arminian System as erroneous, and consequently incapable of solving the Difficultys propos'd by Mr. Bayle; which was expressly adjudging him the Victory. But on the other hand, as Mr. La Placette follow'd the Calvinistical Hypothesis, Mr. Le Clerc

O 2

cou'd

cou'd not forbear expressing his Joy at this Work's not appearing before Mr. Bayle's Death ; because, says he, if he had seen it, he wou'd have own'd himself ready to subscribe to it, without changing Opinion ; and pretended he was as Orthodox as Mr. *La Placette*. By this Mr. *Le Clerc* wou'd insinuate, he saw no difference between Mr. Bayle's and Mr. *La Placette*'s Principles.

To these two Testimonys of Mr. Bayle's Victory over Mr. *Le Clerc* and Mr. *Jaquelot*, I shall add a third, whose Suffrage is so much the freer from Suspicion, as he does not in the least spare Mr. Bayle, in a Book lately publish'd by him. Mr. *Naudé* is the Man I mean : He affirms Mr. *Jaquelot* was worsted by Mr. Bayle, that he was fairly run down, and forc'd to contradict himself ; and proves it by discussing their Arguments at large, and confronting the Writings o' both sides. Mr. *Naudé* judg'd as little favorably of Mr. *Le Clerc*, after he had seen his last Answer to the Dialogue between *Maximus* and *Themistes*. He says, he shou'd be glad that all equitable Persons, and all the ablest Philosophers of Europe wou'd fairly compare this Answer with his own Work ; and he persuades

persuades himself they must own, he replys at least to the Objections of the *Manicheans*, and that Mr. Le Clerc in no wise does: For in fine, adds he, let any *ingenuous Person* read in Mr. Bayle's *Dialogues*, where they relate to Mr. Le Clerc, all that is not merely personal, but what directly concerns the Dispute of the *Manicheans* against *Arminianism*, and afterwards read over Mr. Le Clerc's Answer in the XIIth Tome of his *Bibliothèque Choisie*; and I am persuaded he'll own, Mr. Le Clerc does not so much as glance at Mr. Bayle's Objections, but leaves all his wretched *Arminianism* in the lurch, sunk and overwhelm'd with the weight of the same Objections: I say, the very same terrible Objections with which he himself had always pretended to crush the *Supralapsarians* in the first place, and generally all the *Reform'd*, as if they alone had given ground to these Objections, when no one is now so blind as not to see that 'tis *Christianity* in general which opens the door to 'em. In the mean time Mr. Le Clerc does no more than just endeavor to save himself by shuffling and talking backwards and forwards, and even departing from the plain and express Doctrine of Scripture, with-

out giving Mr. Bayle one single categorical Answer, or offering a syllable of any force to ward off his stunning blows. He afterwards says, that Mr. Le Clerc is forc'd to have recourse to the Glory of God as well as the Calvinists: Tho he does not follow their Method, nor can have the same benefit by it. " He does
 " it, says he, by unfairly dissembling
 " that he is struck and embarrass'd with
 " the same Objections that we are;
 " and this with a design of keeping up
 " the Spirit of the Ignorant in his own
 " Party, which he and his Brethren
 " have all along entertain'd in Opini-
 " ons very wide of this Truth; but
 " which were very false at the same
 " time, as Mr. Bayle has at least given
 " us the pleasure of making those per-
 " ceive very sensibly, who won't put
 " out their Eyes for fear they shou'd
 " see it. But we, adds he, we do it
 " by the Grace and Assistance of God,
 " while we receive these Objections
 " such as they are, look 'em undaun-
 " tedly in the face, and overthrow 'em
 " at the same time. No doubt Mr.
 Le Clerc resents a new and lively Joy,
 to think that the *Treatise of the Sovereign
 Perfection of God* was not publish'd till
 after

after his Adversary's Death. But 'tis time to resume Mr. Bayle's Character.

He had all along preserv'd a tender Love for his Country. Jealous to Excess of the Glory of his Nation, he cou'd not with any Patience hear it run down; and he even had a Contempt for those who did not esteem it as highly as himself. This was a Failing which all his Friends cou'd never correct in him: I call it a Failing, because so thorow a Philosopher as he ought to have had larger Thoughts. Nothing is more ordinary than to find those in all Countrys, and even such as are above the common Rank, who fancy their own the only Nation which has engroft all human Perfections. This is pardonable in them, because with all their Wit and good Sense they stedfastly retain several vulgar Prejudices. But People have not the same Indulgence for a Philosopher, who has taken a strict Survey of all his Opinions, and judges of 'em without the least respect of Persons. Mr. Bayle's affectionate way of speaking sometimes of his Country, had given his Enemys a handle for accusing him of being a Spy, and a Pensioner to the Court of *France*: a Consequence so

absurd, and so grievous a Calumny, that I'm at a loss to conceive how one of his latest Antagonists cou'd in this point strike in with Mr. *Jurieu*: *Furor arma ministrat*. But all who knew Mr. Bayle did him Justice, and I dare take the liberty of reckoning your Lordship in this number.

Your Lordship desir'd to know who were Mr. Bayle's Friends and Correspondents in the several parts of *Europe*. Those I can at present call to mind, besides such as I have already nam'd, were the Duke of *Noailles* in *France*, who honors the *Belles Lettres* by his Love for Learned Men, and by his Application to Study: The *Abbé Bignon*, no less distinguish'd by his great Parts, than by that generous Protection he affords the Arts and Sciences; P. *Malebranche*; the two P's *Lami*; Messieurs *Pinson*, *Rainsan*, *de la Monnoye*, *Marais*, *Longepierre*; Mr. Bayle Professor in Philosophy at *Tholouse*, who was no way related to him tho of the same Name, &c. In *Germany*, Mr. *L'Enfant*, Minister of the French Church of *Berlin*, and Chaplain to the King of *Prussia*; the Illustrious Mr. *Leibnitz*; Messieurs *Ancillon*, *Thomasius*, *Buddeus*, &c. In *Italy*, Mr. *Magliabecchi*, Library
Keeper

Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuscany. At Geneva, Mr. Pictet, Minister, and Professor in Divinity; Mr. Chouet, Syndic of the Republick, &c. Your Lordship knows, he had the honor of being esteem'd by several Persons of Quality in England; but I don't think he held a Correspondence with any of the Learned of that Kingdom. His Correspondents on that side the Water were French, as Mr. La Riviere, Minister of the French Church at the Savoy; Mr. Le Vassor; Mr. La Roque Boyer, Minister at Windsor; Messieurs Pujolas, Silvestre, Des Maizeaux, Coste, &c.

As I endeavor to avoid Flattery as much as possible, and pay homage only to Truth, I shan't go about to dissemble the hardest Article against Mr. Bayle, to wit, That he had taken too great a liberty in some parts of his *Dictionary*, and talk'd somewhat too smuttily upon the Affairs of Women. 'Tis certain, what he says upon this Subject consists for the most part of Citations from grave Authors, who had never bin the less esteem'd for having written a little too licentiously. 'Tis true too, that Montaigne and several others had taken infinitely a greater liberty. But all this

this does not acquit him with Persons who set up for rigid and refin'd Vertue; besides, it shocks the Civility and Politeness of our Age. Mr. Bayle did not consider, that he wrote in a Language the chafest in the World; and that if the Authors he read had wrote at the same time he did, and in the same Language, they must have wrap'd up in cleaner Expressions, or the World had not born 'em. The truth is, the gross Obscenitys he met with in their Writings made him consider, as very innocent Libertys, and Sallys of Wit, what the World accounts much otherwise in this Age. We are told, that our own Times are a great deal more corrupted than those of our Fathers; and yet we find they express'd themselves with less Reserve and Precaution than we. This must have proceeded from the Heart's being less corrupt in them: loose, and even smutty Expressions, made but little Impression; their Imagination was not desl'd, nor their Vertue endanger'd by 'em. Now this was precisely Mr. Bayle's Case. He did not find himself shock'd by the loose Expressions he us'd; he even believ'd 'em innocent, because they produc'd no Disorder in himself.

himself. In effect, his Life has bin always so regular, that his bitterest Enemies cou'd never reproach him with any thing on this head. His Manners fell not short of those of the best of Christians; and among such as addict themselves to Philosophy, very few are to be found who live so perfectly like Philosophers as he. All the Vertues which render a Man truly valuable, were to be met with in him; his Integrity, his Innocence, his Humility, his Temperance, his Equity, his Contempt of the World, his Disinterestedness, were perfectly exemplary. 'Twas by this part of him, as I have already observ'd, he had the good Fortune of pleasing your Lordship, and meriting your Protection. And this was the principal reason which mov'd you to desire an Account of his Life. I shall think my self infinitely happy, my Lord, if this proves not altogether unworthy your Notice; and if you will be pleas'd to look upon it as some small Mark of my Gratitude, and of that profound Respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Dec. 1, 1707.

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant.

BOOKS written by Mr. BAYLE.

Miscellaneous Reflections on occasion of the Comet which appear'd in December, 1680. Written to a Doctor of the Sorbon, in 12mo. The first Edition appear'd in 1682, the second in 1683, the third in 1699, and the fourth in 1704.

A general Criticism on the History of Calvinism of P. Maimbourg, 2 vol. in 12mo. The first and second Edition appear'd in 1682, and the third in 1684.

New Letters of the Author of the Critique Generale on the History of Calvinism, by P. Maimbourg. 2 vol. 1685.

The History of the Republick of Letters, in 12mo. from March 1684. to March 1687. inclusive.

An Answer of the Author of the History of the Republick of Letters to the Advice given him upon his having spoke in favor of P. Malebranche about the Pleasures of Sense, &c. 12mo. 1686.

France intirely Catholick under the Reign of Lewis the Great, in 12mo. 1686.

A Philosophical Commentary on these Words of JESUS CHRIST, Compel 'em to come in,

in, &c. 4 vol. in 12mo. The first and second printed in 1686, the third in 1687, the fourth in 1688.

The Chimerical Cabal, or a Confutation of the fabulous Account and Calumnys which Mr. Jurieu has maliciously publish'd concerning a certain Project of Peace, and concerning a Libel intitul'd, Important Advice to the Refugees, on their approaching Return into France, in his Considerations on this Libel. In 12mo, two Editions in 1691.

A Letter concerning the little Books publish'd against the Chimerical Cabal, in 12mo. half a Sheet, 1691.

The Chimericalness of the Cabal of Rotterdam demonstrated from the pretended Convictions which Mr. Jurieu has publish'd against Mr. Bayle, in 12mo. 1691.

Janua Cœlorum reſerata cunctis Religio-nibus à celebri admodum viro Domino Petro Jurieu, &c. in 4to. 1692.

The Project and Essay towards a Critical Dic-tionary, in 8vo. 1692.

New Advice to the little Author of the little Books, in 12mo. 1692.

An Addition to the Miscellaneous Reflec-tions on Comets, or an Answer to a Libel intitul'd, A short Review, &c. in 12mo. 1694.

A Historical and Critical Dictionary. The first Edition in Folio, 2 vol. 1696; the se-cond enlarg'd to near half the Bulk, in 3 vol. 1702.

A Letter concerning what pass'd in the Con-sistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam,

on occasion of the Critical Dictionary, in 12mo. half a Sheet, 1697.

Reflections on a Pamphlet intitul'd, The Judgment of the Publick, and particularly of the Abbe Renaudot, upon the Critical Dictionary, &c. two Sheets in 4to. 1697.

A Continuation of the Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets, or an Answer to the Difficultys, &c. 2 vol. 1704.

An Answer to the Questions of a Country-Gentleman, 5 vol. in 12mo. The first appear'd in 1704, the second and third in 1705. the fourth 1706, and the fifth 1707.

An Answer for Mr. Bayle to Mr. Le Clerc, upon occasion of the 3d and 13th Articles of the 9th Tome of his Bibliotheque Choisie, in 12mo. 1706. 'Tis a sort of Appendix to the 4th Tome of the Answer to the Questions of a Country-Gentleman.

Dialogues between Maximus and Themistes, being an Answer to Messieurs Le Clerc and Jaquelot, in 12mo. 1707. 2 vol.

Other Works of Mr. Bayle inserted in the Writings of several Authors.

Objectiones in Libros quatuor de Deo, Anima, & Malo. See the Cogitationes racionales de Deo, &c. of Mr. Poiret, the second Edition at Amsterdam, 1685. pag. 623. in 4to.

Dissertatio in qua vindicantur a Peripateticis exceptionibus Rationes quibus aliqui Ambrosio praebarant Essentiam Corporis suam esse in Extensione. The

Theses Philosophicae. These two Works are in a Collection of some curious Pieces concerning the Philosophy of Des Cartes, printed at Amsterdam in 12^o, 1684. p. 138, & 219.

Petri Bælei ad virum Doctissimum Theodorum J. ab Almelooven Epistola de scriptis adespotis. See Mr. Deckerrus's Book de scriptis adespotis, &c. the third Edition at Amsterdam 1686. in 12mo. pag. 367.

A Preface to Furetiere's Dictionary, printed in 1689.

A Letter containing some Amendments to the Article of Polydore Virgile in the Critical Dictionary. See the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, Jan. and Febr. 1702. the Holland Edit. p. 166.

A Letter upon a Passage in the Article of Françoise, containing, besides this, an Explanation of a Passage in Cicero, and a Remark in Physicks. See the *Memoir*, ubi supra, May 1702. p. 179.

A Letter on the Question, Whether Mr. Bayle had comprehended the Doctrine of Spinoza aright, or no, &c. See the same *Memoirs*, June 1702. p. 480.

General Remarks on the Essays of Literature, printed at Paris. See *ibid.* Jan. 1703. p. 54.

A Confutation of what had been said of Mr. Bayle, in the Essays of Literature for Febr. 1703. See *ibid.* April 1703. p. 295.

Considerations on some Passages of the Essays of Literature for April 1703. See *ibid.* June 1703. p. 471.

Additions and Amendments of the Naudæana. See the *Naudæana & Patiniana of the Second*



*Second Edition at Amsterdam 1703. in 12.
p. 131.*

Remarks on some Passages concerning Mr. Bayle, in Mr. Teissier's new Additions to the Elogys of Learned Men. See the History of the Works of the Learned, May 1704. p. 200.

An Answer, so far as he is concern'd in a Work publish'd at Paris, upon the Distinction of Good and Evil; and to the 4th Article of the 3th Tome of the Bibliotheque Choisie touching Dr. Cudworth's Plastick Natures. See ibid. August, 1704. p. 365.

Reflections on the 7th Article of the 6th Tome of the Bibliotheque Choisie touching the Plastick Natures. See ibid. Decemb. 1704. p. 540.

A Letter on a Memoir of Mr. Des Mai-zeaux, concerning Arnaud d' Andilly. See the History of the Republick of Letters, May 1704. p. 587.

A Preface and Notes upon a Book publish'd at Paris, with the Title of Critical Remarks on the new Edition of Moreri's Historical Dictionary, in 1704. See the second Edition of these Critical Remarks printed at Rotterdam in 1706.

Manuscript Works.

A *Supplement to the Critical Dictionary,
A Collection of Letters to his Friends.*

FINIS.



25. } Mr. Vise
32 } Mr. de Vise

55.